

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κτῆμας ἰς αὐτό. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. VII.



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THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K VII.

IN these Straits, the King considered two Expedients which were proposed to him, and which his Majesty directed should be both consulted in the Council. The one was, "that all the Peers who were
 " then in *Oxford*, or in the King's Service, might
 " subscribe a Letter to the Council of State in *Scotland*;
 " whereby it would appear, by the subscription, that above five parts of six of the whole
 " Nobility, and House of Peers, were in the King's
 " Service, and disavowed all those Actions which
 " were done against him, by the pretended Authority of the two Houses; which possibly might
 " make some impression upon the Nation of *Scotland*,
 " though it was well enough known before to their
 " Seducers." A Letter was prepared accordingly, expressing "the foulness of the Rebellion in *England*,
 " under the reputation of the Houses of Parliament,
 " and the carrying on the same, when they had driven away, by force, much the Major part of the
 " Members of both Houses, and expressly against
 " all the Laws of the Land:" it put them in mind "of
 " their obligation to the King," and pathetically concluded "with conjuring them to desist from their

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A Letter from the Peers on the King's side to the Council in Scotland.

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BOOK VII. “ unjust, and unwarrantable purpose; since they
 “ could have no excuse for prosecuting the same,
 “ from the Authority of Parliament.” The Letter
 was perused, and debated in the Council, and after-
 wards in the presence of all the Peers; and being
 generally approved, without any dissenting Voice,
 it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those
 Peers, and Privy-Counsellors, who were then in
Oxford, and to be sent to those who were absent in
 any of the Armies, or in the King’s Quarters, and to
 be then sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*; who, after
 he had signed it, with those Peers who were in those
 parts, was to transmit it into *Scotland* by a Trumpet;
 all which was done accordingly.

Of all the Peers who followed the King, there was
 only one who refused to sign this Letter, the Earl of
Leicester; who, after many pauses and delays, whether
 he had not yet digested his late deposal from the
 Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, to which the Marquis of
Ormond was deputed, and thought the disobligation
 of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he
 thought the King’s Fortune desperate, and resolved
 not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and
 not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not
 concurring with them; or whether he had it then in
 his purpose to be found in their Quarters, as shortly
 after he was, did in the end positively refuse to sub-
 scribe the Letter; and thereby was the occasion of a
 mischief he did not intend. For both their Majesties,
 in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed
 the Marquis of *Hertford* in the Government of the
 Prince; for which he would have been very proper;

but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the King could not prosecute his purpose; and so the Government of that hopeful and excellent Prince, was committed to the Earl of *Berkshire*, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a Man of any who bore the Name of a Gentleman, the most unfit for That Province, or any other that required any proportion of Wisdom and Understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy distemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter Who was employed in that Office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceived, nor was the Earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his Fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a Counsellor, much trusted, speaking at that time with the Lord *Jermyn*, "how astonishing a thing it was to all the Nation, to see the Prince committed to such a Governor," he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, "it was of no moment, Who had the name and style of Governor, since the King and Queen meant to be his Governor, and firmly resolved that he should never be out of Their presence, or one of them:" when, within a little more than a year after, the King found it necessary to sever the Prince from himself, and lived not to see him again: and his Majesty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a Governor over him.

The other expedient proposed, was, "that since the whole Kingdom was misled by the reverence

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“ they had to Parliaments, and believed that the
 “ Laws and Liberties of the People, could not be
 “ otherwise preserved, than by their sole Authority,
 “ and that it appeared to be to no purpose to persuade
 “ Men that what they did was against Law, when
 “ they were persuaded that their very doing it made
 “ it Lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and
 “ could be only effectual, to convince them, that
 “ they who did those monstrous things, were not
 “ the Parliament, but a handful of desperate Persons,
 “ who, by the help of the Tumults raised in the City
 “ of *London*, had driven away the Major part of the
 “ Parliament, and called themselves the Parliament,
 “ whilst they were, in truth, much the less, and the
 “ least considerable part of it; which would appear
 “ manifestly, if the King would issue out a Proclama-
 “ tion, to require all the Members who had left the
 “ Parliament at *Westminster*, to repair to *Oxford*, by
 “ such a day; where his Majesty would be willing to
 “ advise with them in matters of the greatest import-
 “ ance, concerning the Peace, and Distractions of
 “ the Kingdom: by this means, he might, in many
 “ things, serve himself by their Assistance, and it
 “ would evidently appear by the number of both
 “ Houses, whose names would be quickly known,
 “ and published, how few remained at *Westminster*,
 “ who carried on the devouring War, so grievous
 “ to the whole Kingdom.

The King was at first in some apprehension, that
 such a conflux of Persons together of the Parliament,
 who would look to enjoy the Privileges of it in their
 Debates, might, instead of doing him Service, do

many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some Treaty of Peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the War; and though no body more desired Peace, yet he had no mind, that a Multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up Persons, and other particulars of Honor, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a War in the Kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the Governors of the Parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a Peace, to trust any to make politic Propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

The Council seemed much inclined to the Expedient, and many conveniences were in View; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed "that Persons, who had that Duty to obey his Majesty's Summons, in coming thither, which would be none but such as had already absented themselves from *Westminster*, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would not bring ill and troublesome humors with them, to disturb that Service which could only preserve them: but on the contrary, would unite, and conspire together, to make the King Superior to His and Their Enemies. And as to the advancing any Propositions of Peace, which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his Majesty to oppose, there

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“ could be no inconvenience; since their appearing
 “ in it would but draw reproach from those at *West-*
 “ *minster*, who would never give them any Answer,
 “ or look upon them under any Notion, but as pri-
 “ vate Persons, and Deserters of the Parliament,
 “ without any Qualification to Treat, or to be Treat-
 “ ed with: which would more provoke those at *Ox-*
 “ *ford*, and, by degrees, stir up more Animosities
 “ between them.” The King discovered more of hope
 than fear from such a Convention; and so, with a very
 unanimous Consent and Approbation, a Proclamation
 was issued out, containing the true grounds and mo-
 tives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland* to
 Invade the Kingdom; which was the most universally
 odious, and detestable; and Summoned all the Mem-
 bers of both Houses of Parliament, except only such,
 as having Command in his Majesty’s Armies in the
 North, and in the West, could not be dispensed with,
 to be absent from their Charges, to attend upon his
 Majesty in *Oxford*, upon a day fixed in *January* next.

The King’s
 Proclamation
 for Assembling
 the Members
 of Parliament
 at Oxford.

The King was not all this while without a due sense
 of the dangers that threatened him in the growth,
 and improvement of the power and strength of the
 Enemy, and how impossible it would be for him,
 without some more extraordinary Assistance, to resist
 that Torrent, which, he foresaw, by the next Spring,
 would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not
 provision accordingly. And finding, by degrees, that
 it was not in his power to compose the disturbances
 of *England*, or to prevent those of *Scotland*, and abhor-
 ring the thought of introducing a Foreign Nation to
 Subdue his own Subjects, he began to think of Expe-

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dients which might allay the distempers in *Ireland*; that so, having one of his Kingdoms in Peace, he might apply the Power of that, towards the procuring it in his other Dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an Argument that business of *Ireland* was, and how prepared Men were to pervert whatsoever he said, or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that Caution, that whatsoever was done in it, should be by the Counsel of that State, who were understood to be most skilful in those Affairs.

The Lords Justices, and Council, had sent a short Petition to his Majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his Catholic Subjects, then in Arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of Duty, and Submission to his Majesty, "that he would appoint some Persons to hear what they could say for themselves; and to present the same to his Majesty." Hereupon the King Authorized by his Commission the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least Authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this Commission, the Marquis, finding that this Petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that Notion, that he even then advanced against them with his Army, and gave them a very signal Defeat; which reformed their Application, and made it more submissive.

In the mean time (though in all Actions and Counsels, the Lords Justices, and Council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the Parlia-

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ment) the Affairs of that Kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of Provisions, Money, and Ammunition, out of *England*; which the two Houses of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpose, enabled by his Majesty to send. Infomuch as that Board, by their Letters of the fourth of *April*, this present year, advertised the Speaker of the House of Commons, “that they had been compelled, for the
“ preservation of the Army, to take Money from all
“ who had it, and to wrest their Commodities from
“ the poor Merchants, whom they had now, by the
“ Law of necessity, utterly undone, and disabled
“ from being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing
“ them in Victuals, or other needful Commodities:
“ And that there were few of themselves, or others,
“ that had not felt their parts in the inforced rigor of
“ their proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to Them to do, than it was
“ heavy to Others to suffer, and by their descending,
“ against their hearts, far below the Honor and
“ Dignity of that Power they represented under his
“ Royal Majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, prevailed so as to be able to find Bread for
“ the Soldiers for the space of one Month: That they
“ were then expelling thence all Strangers, and must
“ instantly send away for *England*, thousands of poor
“ despoiled *English*, whose very eating was now insupportable to that place, and therefore, they said,
“ they did again earnestly, and finally desire (for
“ their Confusions would not now admit the writing
“ of many more Letters, if any) some Supplies of
“ Victual and Munition might, in present, be haf-

“ tened thither to keep Life, until the rest might follow ; there being no Victuals in store ; nor one hundred Barrels of Powder ; which , according to the usual necessary Expenses , besides extraordinary Accidents , would not last above a Month.” B O O K VII.

A Copy of this Letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* , that his Majesty might be informed of the sadness of their Condition , and , with it, a Copy of a paper that Morning presented to the Board (which was likewise sent in their Letter to the Speaker) from the Officers of the Army ; who , after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained , and expostulations thereupon , concluded , “ that if their Lordships would take them into their timely considerations , before their urgent wants made them desperate , they would serve them readily and faithfully ; but if their Lordships would not find a way for their preservation there , they humbly desired they might have leave to go where they might have a better being ; and if they refused to grant That , they themselves must then take leave to have recourse to that first and primary Law , which God had endued all Men with , the Law of Nature , which taught all Men to preserve themselves.”

The King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this Advertisement ; apprehending the State of his Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom to be almost desperate , the Rebels receiving daily encouragement and assistance from Foreign parts ; and thereupon growing strong and bold ; yet he forbore to interpose his own Sovereign-Power , hoping this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression

B O O K in the two Houses of Parliament, that they would
VII. have sent such a full Supply, that at least the Rebels might make no farther Progress in Victory, against his Protestant-Subjects. About the end of *May*, the Lords-Justices and Council, having received no probable hope of Assistance from the Parliament, sent an Address immediately to his Majesty, that Himself might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preservation of one of his three Kingdoms. This Letter Subscribed by the Lords-Justices, and every Member of the Council-Board, being the ground and foundation of the Resolutions which his Majesty afterwards took, I think necessary to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

An Address
 of the Lords-
 Justices and
 the Council in
 Ireland to the
 King.

“ As soon as We your Majesty’s Justices entered
 “ into the Charge of this Government, We took into
 “ our consideration, at the Board, the State of your
 “ Army here; which We find suffering under unspeak-
 “ able Extremity of want of all things necessary to
 “ the Support of their Persons, or Maintenance of
 “ the War. here being no Victuals, Clothes, or other
 “ Provisions requisite towards their Sustenance; no
 “ Money to provide them of any thing they want;
 “ no Arms in your Majesty’s Stores to supply their
 “ many defective Arms; not above forty Barrels of
 “ Powder in your Stores; no strength of serviceable
 “ Horses being now left here; and those few that are,
 “ their Arms for the most part lost, or unserviceable;
 “ no Ships arrived here to guard the Coast, and con-
 “ sequently no security rendered to any that might,

“ on their private Adventures, bring in Provisions of
 “ Victuals, or other necessaries towards our Subsist-
 “ ence; and finally, no visible means, by Sea or Land,
 “ of being able to preserve for you this Kingdom, and
 “ to render deliverance from utter destruction to the
 “ remnant of your good Subjects yet left here. ”

“ We find, that your Majesty's late Justices, and
 “ this Board, have often, and fully, by very many
 “ Letters, advertised the Parliament in *England* of
 “ the extremities of Affairs here, and besought Relief
 “ with all possible importunity; which also have
 “ been fully represented to your Majesty, and to the
 “ Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, to
 “ be made known to your Majesty: And although
 “ the winds have of late for many days, and often
 “ formerly, stood very fair for accessions of Supply
 “ forth of *England* hither, and that We have still,
 “ with longing Expectations, hoped to find Provi-
 “ sions arrive here, in some degree Answerable to the
 “ necessities of your Affairs; yet now, to our unspeak-
 “ able grief, after full six Months waiting, and
 “ much longer patience, and long suffering, We
 “ find all our great expectations answered in a mean
 “ and inconsiderable quantity of Provisions, viz, three-
 “ score and fifteen Barrels of Butter, and fourteen
 “ Tun of Cheese; being but the fourth part of a small
 “ Vessel's Lading, which was sent from *London*, and
 “ arrived Here the fifth day of this Month, which is
 “ not above seven or eight days Provisions, for that
 “ part of the Army which lies in *Dublin*, and the out-
 “ Garrisons thereof; no Money or Victual (other
 “ than that inconsiderable proportion of Victual)

B O O K “ having arrived in this place , as sent from the Par-
 VII. liament of *England*; or from any other Fort of
 “ *England*, for the use of the Army, since the begin-
 “ ning of *November* last.”

“ We have, by the blessing of God , been hitherto
 “ prosperous and successful in your Majesty’s Affairs
 “ here, and should be still hopeful , by the mercy of
 “ God, under the Royal directions of your sacred
 “ Majesty, to vindicate your Majesty’s Honor, to
 “ recover your Rights here, and take due Vengeance
 “ on those Traytors, for the Innocent Blood they
 “ have spilled , if We might be strengthened, and
 “ supported therein, by needful Supplies forth of
 “ *England*: but these Supplies having been hitherto
 “ expected to come from the Parliament of *England*
 “ (on which if your Majesty had not relied , We are
 “ assured you would , in your high Wisdom, have
 “ found out some other means to preserve this your
 “ Kingdom) and so great and apparent a failure hav-
 “ ing happened therein, and all the former, and late,
 “ long continuing Easterly Winds, bringing us no
 “ other Provisions, than those few Cheeses and Butter,
 “ and no advertisements being brought Us of any
 “ future Supply to be so much as in the way hither,
 “ whereby there might be any likelihood that con-
 “ siderable means of support for your Majesty’s
 “ Army might arrive here, in any reasonable time,
 “ before We be totally swallowed up by the Rebels,
 “ and your Kingdom by them wrested from you :
 “ We find ourselves so disappointed of our hopes
 “ from the Parliament, as must needs trench to the
 “ utter loss of the Kingdom, if your Majesty in your

“ high Wisdom, ordain not some present means of
 “ preservation for Us. And considering that if now;
 “ by occasion of that unhappy, and unexpected
 “ failing of Support from thence, We shall be less
 “ successful in your Service here against the Rebels,
 “ than hitherto, whilst We were enabled with some
 “ means to serve you, We have been, the shame and
 “ dishonor may, in common construction of those
 “ that know not the inwards of the Cause, be imputed
 “ to Us, and not to the Failings that disabled Us: And
 “ considering principally, and above all things, the
 “ high and eminent trust of your Affairs here, de-
 “ posited with Us by your sacred Majesty, We may
 “ not forbear, in discharge of our Duty, thus freely
 “ and plainly to declare our humble apprehensions,
 “ to the end your Majesty, thus truly understanding
 “ the terribleness of our condition, may find out
 “ some such means of Support, to preserve to your
 “ Majesty and your Royal Posterity this your An-
 “ cient, and Rightful-Crown, and Kingdom: and
 “ derive deliverance and safety to the remnant of your
 “ good Subjects yet left here, as in excellent Judge-
 “ ment you shall find to be most for your Honor,
 “ and Advantage. And so praying the King of Kings
 “ to guide, and direct you for the best, in this high
 “ and important Cause, and in all other your Coun-
 “ sels and Actions, We humbly remain:

*From your Majesty's Castle of Dublin the 11th of
 May 1643.*

There was no sober Man in *Ireland* or *England*,
 who believed it to be in the King's Power to enable
 this People to carry on that War; for all Men too

B O O K well knew, that he had neither Money, Victual,
VII. Ammunition, or Shipping, to supply them: and therefore his Majesty could not but conclude, that by this application of that State to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that War which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the same time with this Letter, he received Advice and Information, from some of his prime Ministers of that Kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the Rebellion, "that there
" was no reasonable hope of preserving his Pro-
" testant Subjects, and his own Interest in that King-
" dom, but by Treating with the Rebels, and
" making a Peace, or Truce with them." The King well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself, by entering into such a Treaty with those Rebels; and that they who had persuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented the Rebellion, against all human Evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a Peace with them: Besides that he had bound himself not to make a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, without the consent of his two Houses of Parliament in *England*. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his Protestant Subjects there, could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of *England*; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the Parliament Would not, or Could not; so that it seemed only in his Election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his

Protestant-Subjects there, and that whole Kingdom, in dependance upon his Crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a Kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his Subjection: and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those Acts of Parliament which he had passed for the relief of *Ireland*, before any Rebellion in *England*; was not, that there might never be a Peace in *Ireland*, but that the two Houses might co-operate with him, whereby the Rebels might be reduced to those Straits, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their Duties: and that, instead of any such co-operation, the two Houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those Monies, which had been raised by those very Acts, for the relief of *Ireland*, in the maintenance of the Armies which had given his Majesty Battle in *England*, expressly contrary to the words of those Acts; and therefore that his Majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those Covenants on His part.

Upon these considerations, after two Months delay, to see whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of *July*, the King writ to the Lords Justices in *Ireland*, " that they
" should issue out a Commission, under the Great-
" Seal of *Ireland*, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to Treat
" and Conclude a Cessation of Arms with the
" Rebels, upon such Articles and Conditions as he
" should judge most reasonable; and during that

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BOOK VII. " Cessation, that such Agents as they should make
 " choice of, should have access to his Royal Person,
 " to present their own Propositions for Peace:" so
 careful was the King not to infringe that Act of
 Parliament, which many understood to be dissolved
 by themselves: there being no colorable cause in it, by
 which it was not in his Majesty's own power to make
 a Cessation; and the Peace itself he respite in such a
 manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence
 from the Parliament, if they would not decline any
 farther consideration or care of that Kingdom.

Hereupon the Lord-Marquis of *Ormond*, being
 then only General of the Horse there, entered upon a
 Treaty with Commissioners authorized by the
 Council at *Kilkenny*; to whose jurisdiction the Rebels
 had committed the whole Government of their
 Affairs; and Articles of Cessation being prepared for
 a Year, and perused, and approved by the Lords-
 Justices and Council, without whose advice the Mar-
 quis would not proceed, and all the principal Officers
 of the Army having given it under their hands, being
 present likewise at the Treaty, " that it was most
 " necessary for the preservation of that Kingdom,
 " that a Cessation should be made for a Year, upon
 " those Articles and Conditions; and the Rebels
 " undertaking to pay to his Majesty's use, thirty
 " thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling,
 " within a short time; whereof fifteen thousand eight
 " hundred pounds in ready Money, and the other
 " fifteen thousand pounds, one half in Money, and
 " the other half in good Beefs, at thirty pounds the
 " Score;" a Cessation of Arms was concluded by
 the

the Marquis; and published, with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords-Justices and Council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of *September*, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

This Cessation was no sooner known in *England*, but the two Houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his Majesty's dishonor that can be imagined; persuading the People, "that the Rebels were now brought to their last Gasps, and reduced to so terrible a Famine, that, like *Cannibals*, they ate one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the Popish-Counsels at Court, the King had not been persuaded to consent to this Cessation." It is one of the Instances of the strange, fatal misunderstanding, which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the King used in meddling at all with the business of that Kingdom from the time of the Rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and Counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his Majesty's disservice and dishonor, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of Men, and not only of Vulgar-spirited People, but of those who resisted all other insinuations, and infection. And posterity, no question, will inquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which Inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon Religion, and whatsoever was done by Papists, to the Zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own Religion; then that the chief Managers, and

A Cessation
of Arms
concluded for
a year in
Ireland.
Sept. 7.
disowned by
the two Houses
at Westminster.

BOOK Conductors of Their Counsels, found it necessary to
VII. aver many things of Fact upon their own knowledge
 (by which they found the understanding of Men
 liable to be captivated) which in truth were not so:
 As I myself found by some sober Men, at such times
 as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference
 with them, that they did, upon such Assurance,
 believe that the King had done somewhat in that
 business of *Ireland* (some having avowed, that they
 had seen his hand to such and such Letters, and
 Instructions) which, upon as much knowledge, as
 any Man can morally have of a Negative, I am sure
 he never did.

I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper
 Evidence of the State of *Ireland*, at the time of the
 Cessation, and of the unanswerable Motives which
 prevailed with the King to consent to it, two Letters;
 the one, of Expostulation from the two Houses to the
 Lords-Justices and Council, which was received by
 them after the Cessation agreed on, though seeming
 to be sent before; and the Answer of that Board
 thereunto; with the Contents whereof the King, nor
 any of his Council attending on him, was not at all
 acquainted, till long after their delivery. The Letters
 were in these words.

*To Our very good Lords, the Lords-Justices, and
 Council, for the Kingdom of Ireland.*

“ Our very good Lords,

“ The Lords and Commons in Parliament, have
 “ Commanded Us to let you know, they have seen
 “ your Letter of the tenth of *June*, directed to the

A Letter
 concerning
 it, from the
 two Houses

“ Speaker of the House of Commons, accompanied
 “ with an Act of State, in the Preamble whereof is an
 “ expression to this effect, that your present difficul-
 “ ties are occasioned through the failure of the
 “ Houses of Parliament in *England*, who undertook
 “ the charge of this War. This Letter, and Act of
 “ Council, were sent by his Majesty from *Oxford*; to
 “ whom they believe you have sent Copies of both,
 “ and have just cause to suspect, that there is an
 “ impious design now on foot, to sell for nought the
 “ crying Blood of many hundred thousands of
 “ *British* Protestants, by a dishonorable, unsuffer-
 “ able Peace with the Rebels; and then to lay the
 “ blame and shame of this, upon the Parliament; a
 “ Plot suitable to those Counsels that have both pro-
 “ jected, and fomented this unparalleled Rebellion:
 “ for those who contrived the Powder-Treason,
 “ intended to lay it on the Puritans. And although
 “ they cannot think your Lordships intended to
 “ further this design by this expression, yet they
 “ have cause to believe, you have forgotten the pre-
 “ sent condition of this Kingdom; the Supplies they
 “ have sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst of
 “ their own wants; what relief going thither hath
 “ been taken away by Sea, and Land, and by whom;
 “ and what discouragements have been given them
 “ in return: so that, as your Lordships do truly
 “ observe the Protestant Party in that City desirous
 “ to contribute, in all things, towards preservation
 “ of that Kingdom, and that all the opposition
 “ therein is from those of the Popish Party, so ought
 “ you justly to conclude, that the Protestant Party

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VIL

to the Lords
Justices, Ju-
ly 4. 1643.

B O O K " in this Kingdom have contributed, and are still
VII. " endeavouring to contribute, Monies, Ammunition,
" Victuals, and other Necessaries, for the saving of
" that Kingdom: And that the Popish, and Malig-
" nant Party here, now in Arms against the Parlia-
" ment and Kingdom, have not assisted, in the least
" measure, this pious work; but, on the contrary,
" do hinder, and oppose the same: Neither should
" your Lordships conceive, that only the charge of
" that War was referred to, and undertaken by the
" Parliament, as if Their part was to be Your
" Bankers, only to provide Money for You to spend,
" and were not to advise and direct the managing of
" the War; although an Act of Parliament hath
" invested them with that Power; which they must
" assume and vindicate as the means to save that
" Kingdom; and shall bring to condign' punishment
" those there, who, in this conjuncture of Affairs,
" have advised the Commission to hear what the
" Rebels can say, or propound, for their own Ad-
" vantage; the Letters to divest their Committee of
" an Authority given them by both Houses; and that
" advised the late alteration of Government there;
" as Enemies to the Weal of both Kingdoms, and
" Faultors of that Rebellion In the last place, We
" are forbidden to tell you, what Supplies of Money,
" Victuals, Ammunition, and other Necessaries, are
" in good forwardness to be sent over, for the support
" of the Officers and Soldiers there, and by whose
" incessant care; lest they should seem to Answer
" that scandal by excuse, which deserves a high
" resentment. This being all We have in command

" for the present, We bid your Lordships farewell, B O O K
 " and remain, VII.

" Your Lordships Friends to serve you,
Grey of Warke,
Speaker of the House of Lords pro tempore;
William Lenthall,
Speaker of the Commons-House in Parliament.

" The Lords and Commons will examine the
 " demeanour of the Ships appointed to guard those
 " Coasts; and might have expected a Copy of
 " Mountrose's Letter to Colonel Crawford, which
 " came to your hands before the 10th of June; and,
 " happily, would discover the Treason of the
 " Rebels, sent by your Enemies to destroy you; as
 " well as a complaint of those Sea-Captains sent by
 " your Friends to defend you; whose neglects and
 " misdeeds are notwithstanding to be punished, ac-
 " cording as their demerits shall appear.

Westminster the 4th of July 1643.

*To our very good Lord, the Lord-Speaker of the
 Right-Honorable the Lords-House of Parliament
 in the Kingdom of England; and to our very
 loving Friend, William Lenthall Esq; Speaker of
 the Honorable Commons-House in Parliament,
 in the said Kingdom.*

" Our very good Lord, and Mr. Speaker of the
 " Commons-House in Parliament,

" Your joint Letters, of the fourth of July last, The Lords
 Justice
 " directed to Us, were so long in coming, as they Answer.

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“ came not to our hands until the sixth of *October*.
“ By those your Letters, you signify, that the Lords
“ and Commons in Parliament, have commanded
“ you to let us know, that they have seen our Letters
“ of the tenth of *June*, directed to the Speaker of the
“ House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of
“ State, in the preamble whereof, there is an expres-
“ sion to this effect, that our present difficulties were
“ occasioned through the failure of the Houses of
“ Parliament in *England*, who undertook the charge
“ of this War, to which expression. it seems, excep-
“ tion is taken, and interpretations made thereof, far
“ otherwise we are sure than was intended by Us;
“ and, as We conceive, otherwise than the true sense
“ of those words can bear. It is true, that when We
“ were necessitated to set on foot the new imposition,
“ raised here in nature of an Excise, towards keeping
“ this Army from perishing by Famine, it became
“ necessary to express, in the Act of Council where-
“ by We ordered it, the reasons inducing Us to set
“ on foot here a thing so unknown to his Majesty’s
“ Laws, and gracious Government, and the difficul-
“ ties wherewith We contended, which did
“ necessitate that resolution; and in expressing those
“ difficulties, We used that expression, to show
“ whence our difficulties were occasioned; and that
“ We have therein declared the truth, We crave
“ leave to mind you of some particulars.
“ If We should look so far back as to repeat the
“ Substance of many despatches sent from this Board,
“ since the beginning of this Rebellion; some, to our
“ very good Lord, the Lord - Lieutenant of this

“ Kingdom; some to the Lords, and others, Members
 “ of both Houses, his Majesty's Commissioners for
 “ the Affairs of this Kingdom, and some to the
 “ Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament
 “ there; it would prove a voluminous work; and
 “ therefore We forbear to look farther back into
 “ those despatches, than to the time when the Com-
 “ mittee sent thence hither, were here; who, at their
 “ Arrival here, in the end of *October* 1642, brought
 “ with them some Money and Provisions, but far
 “ short of that, which the Necessities of this Army
 “ required; and indeed so inconsiderable, in respect
 “ of those Necessities, as even before that Committee
 “ departed, they saw the Money they had brought,
 “ wholly issued; and the high and unavoidable
 “ necessity of a farther, speedy, and plentiful supply
 “ of Money, and other Provisions. By Letters from
 “ this Board of the 20th of *January* 1642, and directed
 “ to the Speaker of the Commons- House of Parlia-
 “ ment there, it was signified thither, that the
 “ Provisions of Victuals here, were then at the very
 “ bottom; that that Committee then here, had cer-
 “ tified thither those Wants; that if a personal supply
 “ of Victual arrived not here very speedily, the
 “ Army could not subsist, but must have been con-
 “ strained to disband, to the loss of this Kingdom,
 “ and utter destruction of the few Subjects here:
 “ that the want of Treasure here, to pay the Army,
 “ enforced this Board to issue Victual to the Com-
 “ mon-Soldier, and others, towards their pay, which
 “ did the sooner exhaust the Magazine of Victual;
 “ that the Captains, and other Officers, not having

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“ relief that way, were reduced to great extremities,
“ as had been formerly often represented thither;
“ and therefore this Board, by the said Letters, then
“ moved, that Treasure might be sent us speedily,
“ so to redeem the Officers from the Calamities they
“ suffered, and this Board from their unsupportable
“ Clamors; and to enable the payment, in some part,
“ in Money to the Common-Soldier; so to make the
“ Victual-We then expected, to hold out the longer.
“ It was also by those Letters then advertised thither,
“ that the extremities of the Officers of the Army had
“ begotten so much discontent amongst them, as
“ divers Colonels, and others of them, presented at
“ this Board a Remonstrance, whereof a Copy was
“ then sent inclosed in the said Letters; which Re-
“ monstrance did exceedingly trouble, and perplex
“ Us, lest it might beget such distractions amongst
“ Us, as might give too much advantage to the
“ Rebels. But, after full Debate thereof at this Board,
“ it was here directed, that in present, to render some
“ Subsistence to the Officers until Treasure arrived
“ forth of *England*, every Man in this City should
“ bring in half of his Plate, to be paid for it when
“ Treasure arrived; whereupon some Plate was
“ brought in, and applied towards the Army. This
“ Board did also signify by those Letters, that with-
“ out some speedy relief forth of *England*, the Bur-
“ den here was become too heavy to be borne; and
“ therefore, in discharge of our Duty to God, to our
“ Gracious Sovereign, to that Kingdom, and to
“ This, We held ourselves bound clearly to make
“ known, that unless We were speedily supplied

“ from thence, with Money, Arms, and Victual, B O O K
“ it would be impossible for Us any farther to prose- VII.
“ cute this War, or to preserve from sudden con-
“ fusion this State and Government: so highly did
“ the discontent of the Officers, and the disorder of
“ the Soldiers, threaten Us, that it might be easily
“ apprehended, what, in all human probability,
“ must become of Us, when it was then evident, that
“ here was no Money, nor any possibility of pro-
“ curing any in this City; when our Victuals were
“ spent; when a great part of the Army had no
“ Arms; upon which We doubted, and feared, for
“ the reasons in those Letters expressed, that the Sol-
“ diers would make Prey of Us and this City at last;
“ and when We saw that the destruction, then threat-
“ ened against Us, must then go farther, even to
“ the loss of this Crown, and Kingdom; and to the
“ highly endangering of that Kingdom also; which,
“ for the Honor of his Majesty, and the *English* Na-
“ tion, We by our said Letters desired might, by
“ the Wisdom of that Honorable House, be speedily
“ prevented, by hastening away, with all possible
“ speed, Supply of Money, Arms, and Victuals.
“ By other Letters of this Board, directed to
“ Mr. Speaker, and dated the said twentieth of
“ *January* 1642, it was advertised thither, that it was
“ become of absolute necessity, that there should be
“ sent Us from thence, speedily, six hundred light
“ Geldings for Recruits, to be defalcated out of the
“ entertainments of those who should receive them.
“ By other Letters from this Board, of the same date,
“ directed to Mr. Speaker, it was signified thither,

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“ that We had contracted an Agreement here with
 “ *Theodore Schout*, and *Jacob Ablin*, Merchants, that
 “ *Anthony Tyrenes*, in *London*, or *Daniel Wibrant*,
 “ in *Amsterdam*, should receive seven thousand eight
 “ hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shil-
 “ lings; for which the said *Theodore* and *Jacob*, had
 “ undertaken, by their agreement with Us, to buy
 “ in *Holland*, and to Transport from thence hither,
 “ at their own charge and adventure, several pro-
 “ portions of Arms mentioned in a Docket, then
 “ sent inclosed in our said Letters; and they under-
 “ took so to secure it by insurance, and provide such
 “ a Ship of force, as We might be assured to have all
 “ those Arms arrive here by the tenth of *March* now
 “ last past. And We, by our said Letters, earnestly
 “ besought that the said Sum of seven thousand eight
 “ hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shil-
 “ lings might, by order of that Honorable House,
 “ be speedily paid to the said *Tyrenes*, or *Wibrant*,
 “ that those Provisions might arrive here by the tenth
 “ of *March*; that we might not lose the advantage
 “ of the then next Spring, for recovering of such of
 “ the Sea-Ports, and other places of importance, as
 “ the Rebels had gotten; and for proceeding effec-
 “ tually in this War. Those Letters also moved for
 “ other provisions of War, which We conceived
 “ might be had in *England* in reasonable time. And
 “ We then sent a Docket of those also; desiring ear-
 “ nestly they might be sent us speedily. And although
 “ there was an Agent sent from hence in *Novem-*
 “ *ber*, 1641, to solicit the despatches sent from hence,
 “ who attended at *London*, when those our Letters

“ were sent hence; yet of so great importance was B O O K
 “ that despatch, requiring instant and speedy Answer VII.
 “ and supply from thence, as We adjudged it neces-
 “ sary to give special Instructions to the Lord *Conway*,
 “ and others (besides that Agent then there attending)
 “ to move his Majesty, and solicit the Houses of
 “ Parliament, to hasten unto Us, with all possible
 “ Speed, the Provisions in those Letters contained :
 “ And that there might nothing be omitted, that by
 “ solicitation could be obtained, there were Agents
 “ also sent thither from the Army to solicit for them.
 “ By Letters from this Board of the twentieth of
 “ *February* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, We again
 “ desired, with all possible earnestness, that the Pro-
 “ visions of all sorts, expressed in those three Letters
 “ of the twentieth of *January*, and the Dockets
 “ therewith sent, might be hastened to Us; and that
 “ the said seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and
 “ thirteen pounds three shillings, for Arms to be
 “ provided in *Holland*, might be speedily paid. And
 “ in those last Letters We again signified our miser-
 “ able, and unspeakable want of Victuals, Arms,
 “ Munition, Money, Shoes, and other Necessaries;
 “ and that if the Supplies We moved for, came not
 “ speedily, We were unavoidably in danger to be as
 “ much devoured by our own wants, as by the Sword
 “ of the Rebels; and that our want of Corn was so
 “ much the more, in regard that, in confidence to
 “ be plentifully supplied forth of *England*, We caused
 “ great destruction to be made of Corn; there being
 “ indeed nothing conducing more to the destruction
 “ of Rebels, than the burning of all Corn.

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“ We also then signified the necessity of sending a
“ farther supply of Powder, and Match; and We
“ declared, that no words could sufficiently express
“ the greatness of the danger We should incur, if our
“ Supplies came not speedily: that the Plate brought
“ in, amounted not to one thousand two hundred
“ pounds; a Sum very inconsiderable towards Relief
“ of the Officers. By Letters of this Board of the 25th
“ of *February* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, We
“ signified, that when our means from thence failed,
“ and our credits could hold out no longer, We were
“ constrained, towards Relief of the Army, to force
“ from the Protestant Merchants here. as well *English*
“ as Strangers, not only the Commodities they had
“ brought hither, but the Native Commodities also;
“ undertaking to them that they should receive Pay-
“ ment at *London*; which failing, that those that
“ would supply Us, were disheartened, and durst
“ not come hither with Commodities; wherefore
“ We again, by those Letters, besought speedy sup-
“ ply from thence; declaring that otherwise, the
“ Army, and We, must perish; and so far we were
“ transported with grief, in the consideration of the
“ high extremities of this Kingdom, and Army, as
“ we did, by those Letters, lament for the shame and
“ dishonor, which We then foresaw would reflect
“ upon the *English* Nation, if then, after so long
“ and often forewarnings, given by Us to that Ho-
“ norable House, this Kingdom were lost, and that
“ for want of Supplies from thence; wherein We
“ then declared, that all the comfort left Us, was,
“ that We had done Our parts, and discharged our

“ duties to God, to his Majesty, and to all his King- B O O K
 “ doms, who must have borne their parts with Us in VII.
 “ so heavy a loss.

“ By Letters from this Board dated the 23^d of
 “ *March* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, We signi-
 “ fied that our wants enforced Us to distribute the
 “ Soldiers, for their Victuals, in and throughout
 “ this City and Suburbs; which, We signified, could
 “ not long hold, considering the poverty of this
 “ place; and therefore, to avoid utter Confusion,
 “ We did again and again beseech most earnestly,
 “ that, above all things, Victuals and Munition might
 “ be sent Us speedily; and that Money, Arms,
 “ Clothes, Shoes, and other Provisions might also
 “ be sent; declaring, that if they yet came speedily,
 “ the Kingdom, and his Majesty's Forces here, might
 “ be thereby redeemed out of part of their distresses;
 “ and We enabled, by the blessing of God, to give
 “ his Majesty such an account of this Kingdom, as
 “ would be for the Glory of the King our Master,
 “ and the Honor of the *English* Nation, in the sub-
 “ duing this horrid Rebellion; which, by reason of
 “ our wants, and in no other respect, was then grown
 “ very terrible: and We did again call for the Pro-
 “ visions, moved for by our several former Letters
 “ of the twentieth of *January*, and twentieth of *Fe-*
 “ *bruary*, and for the payment of the seven thousand
 “ eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three
 “ shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, and
 “ those also which We expect from *London*; decla-
 “ ring, that unless those Supplies came, We should be
 “ disabled from doing Service on the Rebels the then

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“ next Spring, or the then succeeding Summer; and
 “ must undoubtedly put the Rebels into a condition
 “ of prevailing against Us, which We well believed,
 “ the Kingdom of *England* would never have per-
 “ mitted against so faithful Servants and valiant
 “ Soldiers, as his Majesty yet had here.

“ By those Letters also We signified, that it was
 “ necessary that there should be here, at this Harbour
 “ of *Dublin*, by the middle of *April*, at least two Ships
 “ of good Strength; and that the Ships designed for
 “ guarding the other parts of the Coasts of this King-
 “ dom, should be hastened away with all possible
 “ speed. By Letters from this Board directed to Mr.
 “ Speaker, dated the fourth of *April* 1643, We repre-
 “ sented again the unspeakable miseries of the Officers
 “ and Soldiers, for want of all things; and all those
 “ made the more insupportable, in the want of Food;
 “ and that this City was then apparently found to be
 “ unable to help Us, as it had formerly done; and
 “ repeated again, in as lively terms as We could, the
 “ high extremities fallen, and increasing upon Us;
 “ declaring, that We were enforced to see, who had
 “ any thing yet left him not taken from him, to help
 “ Us; and that although there were but few such,
 “ and some poor Merchants, whom We had formerly,
 “ by the Law of necessity, utterly undone; yet, that
 “ We were forced to wrest their Commodities from
 “ them: That there were few here, of ourselves or
 “ others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced
 “ rigor of our proceedings towards preserving the
 “ Army; and We earnestly desired, that his Majesty,
 “ and the *English* Nation, might not suffer so great,

“ if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonor, as
 “ must unavoidably be the consequence of our not
 “ being Relieved suddenly ; but that Yet, although
 “ it were then even almost at the point to be too late,
 “ Supplies of Victuals, and Munition, in present
 “ might be hastened hither, to keep Life, until the
 “ rest might follow : declaring also, that there was
 “ no Victual in the Store, and that there would not
 “ be a hundred Barrels of Powder left, when the
 “ out-Garrisons, as they must then instantly have
 “ been, were supplied ; and that the residue of our
 “ Provisions must also come speedily after, or other-
 “ wise that *England* could not hope to secure *Ireland*,
 “ or secure Themselves against *Ireland* ; but in the
 “ loss of it, must look for such Enemies from hence,
 “ as would perpetually disturb the Peace of his
 “ Majesty, and his Kingdom of *England* ; and among
 “ them, by Sea and Land, as We had often formerly
 “ represented thither ; which mischiefs We signified
 “ might yet be prevented, if We were but then forth-
 “ with enabled from thence, with means to over-
 “ come this Rebellion.

“ We then also again renewed our requests for
 “ the Provisions, mentioned in our Letters of the
 “ twentieth of *January*, and for the payment of the
 “ seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thir-
 “ teen pounds three shillings, for Arms to be pro-
 “ vided in *Holland*, besides those We expected
 “ from *London* : We then also sent, inclosed in our
 “ Letters to Mr. Speaker, a Copy of writing signed
 “ by sundry Officers of the Army, which was in a
 “ Style threatening much danger ; whereby appeared

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“ the high necessity of hastening Treasure hither to
 “ pay them, and the rest of the Officers, and provide
 “ Victual for the Soldiers. On the 10th of *April*, 1643,
 “ We received Letters from Mr. Speaker, of the
 “ seventeenth of *March*, in Answer to our Letters
 “ of the 20th and 25th of *February*. Those Letters
 “ from Mr. Speaker, advised free Trade and Truck
 “ to be given to Merchants, by taking our Native
 “ Commodities, that cannot be Manufactured here,
 “ for their Corn, and other Victuals, and carrying
 “ them into *England*, or other places not prohibited.
 “ And by our Letters directed to Mr. Speaker,
 “ dated the 22^d of *April*, in Answer to his said Letters
 “ of the seventeenth of *March*, We made it
 “ appear, that That design could not hold to derive
 “ benefit to this Army. By those our Letters we
 “ signified also, that the necessities of the Army still
 “ pressed Us, by degrees, to break the Merchants
 “ here, by wresting their Commodities from them,
 “ upon promise of satisfaction in *England*: that the
 “ failing of that satisfaction in *England*, as it had
 “ undone Them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the
 “ Service here: that We engaged the word of this
 “ State, to procure payment to many others, out of
 “ the next Treasure that shall arrive forth of *England*
 “ (which Courses though very hard, did help us for a
 “ time) that when those failed, We begun at ourselves,
 “ than at Others, then at all Fraternities, and Corpora-
 “ tions, as Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Vintners, and
 “ the like; then at all particular Persons observed to
 “ have any visible substance, not being able to spare
 “ poor Men, who (to gain a poor living) made
 profession,

“ profession, some of selling Hot-Waters, and some
 “ of Cutting Tobacco: that in the end, all other
 “ means failing, We had recourse to the only Native
 “ Commodity, Hides; seizing on all that could be
 “ found, either on Ship-board, ready to be exported
 “ hence (with purpose in some of the owners of them
 “ to return Victuals hither; which We were not able
 “ to wait for) or on Shore, prepared for Ship-board;
 “ and made use of them to get the Army in a few
 “ days Bread, still hoping Provisions of Victual
 “ might come to keep them alive; which did draw
 “ upon Us infinite Clamor.

“ And by the said Letters we earnestly besought,
 “ that before We should be utterly swallowed up in
 “ the confusion of Affairs, wherewith We were
 “ beset, the destruction of this State, and Army,
 “ and Kingdom, being then no less feared to arise
 “ from the Army, though sent hither for their pre-
 “ servation, than from the fury of the Rebels, if that
 “ Honorable House would not look back into all our
 “ several Letters sent thither, which We then de-
 “ clared should for ever acquit Us before God, and
 “ the World; as having discharged our Duties to
 “ God, to his Majesty, and to this his Kingdom, in
 “ fully, and timely, and often representing thither
 “ the evils then ready to seize upon this State, the
 “ Army, and the Kingdom, and the means of pre-
 “ venting them; yet at last they would be pleased to
 “ review our said several Letters of the 20th and 25th
 “ of *February*, of the 20th of *January*, 23^d of *March*,
 “ and 4th of *April*. We then also signified that the
 “ Soldiers, pressed through wants, attempted Tu-

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“mults, and Mutiny, plundered divers of the Inhabitants of this City, as well *English*, and Protestants, as others: that We apprehended those disorders but beginnings of what, We doubted, would then shortly ensue, even the Ranfack of this City, if by Supplies forth of *England* it were not prevented: that then there would be no refuge left, either for the Army, or other *English* here: that We were not able to send out the Soldiers, for want of Money to furnish ordinary necessities, and of Ammunition: wherefore We then again earnestly moved, that some means might be found for complying with our desires, in those our several Letters expressed; certifying, that the State of Affairs here, could not possibly admit the least deferring; and that no help was to be expected from hence; as We had often, and fully, in former Letters, signified thither: that if it were not immediately supplied forth of *England* with Powder, we should not be able to defend ourselves, or offend the Rebels; and that, above all things, Munition, Money, and Victuals, were, of necessity, to be sent in the first place; and the other Provisions to be sent after, which also We certified most needful to be done with all possible speed,

“By our Letters of the sixth of *May* 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, We signified how necessary it was, that the intended Establishment should be considered there, and put into such a way as to be made perfect, and, receiving his Majesty's gracious Approbation, might be sent hither; which We desired to be hastened, that the Officers, who

“ daily labor in the public Services, might the better
 “ know what they are to have; of which Establishment
 “ We have not yet had any return. By our
 “ Letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of *May* 1643,
 “ We signified, that although by Letters from Mr.
 “ Speaker dated the 17th day of *March*, it was Advertised
 “ hither, that six weeks Provisions of Victuals,
 “ for each Province, was in preparing, yet that it
 “ was not come, or if it was come, that it was a
 “ Supply far below that which was necessary to be
 “ then sent hither. And We then again repeated the
 “ miserable Condition of this Army, through want
 “ of all things, especially Money, Victuals, Clothes;
 “ Arms, and Munition: that there was not above
 “ forty Barrels of Powder in the Store (a mean and
 “ inconsiderable quantity for this Army, on whom
 “ depends the preservation of the Kingdom) and We
 “ again desired, in case of so high and eminent
 “ danger, and that with all possible importunity,
 “ that a course might be then instantly taken for
 “ hastening away Powder with all speed, and that
 “ the other Provisions also of all sorts, mentioned
 “ in our former several Letters of the 20th of *January*,
 “ 20th, and 25th of *February*, the 23^d of *March*, and
 “ the 4th, and 22^d of *April*, might be also hastened
 “ away; and that the seven thousand eight hundred
 “ and fourscore and thirteen Pounds three shillings,
 “ for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, besides those
 “ We expected from *London*, might be paid.

“ By those Letters also We signified, that We
 “ could not but lament our misfortune, and the
 “ dishonor reflecting on the *English* Nation, that the

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“ Season of the year should be so far entered into, and
“ yet (notwithstanding all the representations, often,
“ and timely enough made thither of Affairs here)
“ no means put into our Power to make Use thereof,
“ in a vigorous prosecution of the War; but instead
“ thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and
“ industry here used to prevent it, We then beheld
“ ourselves sunk deeply into a Gulph of Confusion,
“ and distress of Affairs, being equally in danger
“ to be devoured through our wants, or to be de-
“ stroyed by the Rebels, for want of needful Habili-
“ ments of War to enable our Defence, as had been
“ formerly often and fully declared thither; and
“ therefore We again pressed to be redeemed from
“ the terriblest of our Condition, by such timely
“ accessions of Supplies forth of *England*, as were
“ contained in our said former despatches.

“ By our Letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the six-
“ teenth of *May* 1643, We desired that 320*l.* might be
“ paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry
“ particulars necessary for the Surgeons of this
“ Army; there being a great want thereof for the
“ Cures of wounded Men. And then We sent, and
“ employed Sir *Thomas Wharton* Knight, a Member
“ of this Army, purposely to solicit the means of
“ our Relief, that so We might omit nothing that
“ We conceived might conduce to the hastening of
“ our expected Supplies. And by our Letters of the
“ sixteenth of *May*, then sent to Mr. Speaker, We
“ signified, that the Kingdom was then in more
“ danger than ever to be forced out of our hands,
“ for want of timely Supplies out of *England*; and

“ We desired most earnestly, that his despatch might
 “ be hastened for our preservation, that, if it were
 “ possible, the King, and Kingdom of *England*, might
 “ yet then be preserved from that irrecoverable pre-
 “ judice and dishonor, which must necessarily accom-
 “ pany, and follow the loss of this Kingdom. B O O K
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“ And here We may not omit to mention, that
 “ We prevailed with divers Persons to advance Pro-
 “ visions to Us, at several times, to answer the crying
 “ necessities of this Army; and to some, We gave
 “ our Bills, in nature of Bills of exchange, and to
 “ others, our own Bonds, undertaking repayment at
 “ *London* by the Parliament there; which We did
 “ in confidence to find ready Payment there accord-
 “ ingly: and We do not yet hear that those Bills of
 “ exchange, or Bonds, are yet paid there; but We
 “ find some of the Parties ready to sue, and implead
 “ Us here, for those Debts, though contracted only
 “ for the public Service.

“ Which proceeding of this Board, from time to
 “ time, We thus at large deduce, that so it may
 “ appear fully that We have discharged those duties
 “ which We owe to his Majesty, and to the trust of
 “ his Majesty's Affairs here, in representing thither
 “ fully, and timely, and often, the wants and extre-
 “ mities to which this Kingdom and Army were
 “ reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for
 “ relief and preservation of both; and yet in all that
 “ time, namely from the said twentieth day of *Janu-*
 “ *ary* 1642, to the tenth of *June* 1643, which is the
 “ day of the date of our Letters, to which yours of
 “ the fourth of *July* is an Answer, or from that time

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“ to this, there arrived here, as sent from the Parlia-
 “ ment of *England*, towards the Relief of this Army,
 “ and for maintenance of this War, but the particu-
 “ lars following, viz. forty-nine thousand two
 “ hundred forty-eight pounds of Butter; forty nine
 “ thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds of Cheefe;
 “ four hundred forty-seven Barrels and a half of
 “ Wheat, and Rye; three hundred threescore and
 “ seven Barrels of Pease; and three hundred fifty-six
 “ Barrels of Oats; also five hundred Suits of
 “ Clothes, one thousand Callocs, two thousand
 “ eight hundred and eighteen Caps, also eight-and-
 “ twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of
 “ Match; thirty-eight hundred two quarters and
 “ nine pound of Shot, and three hundred threescore
 “ and fourteen Barrels of Powder; of which Pro-
 “ visions of Munition, there were three hundred and
 “ one-and-forty Barrels of Powder, and five hundred
 “ fifty-five pound two quarters and four-and-twenty
 “ pound of Match, which was the Munition We
 “ had contracted for here, and in the way, coming
 “ from *Holland*, was intercepted at Sea, and carried
 “ to *Calais*, and afterwards set free there by the
 “ mediation of his Majesty, and the Houses of Par-
 “ liament in *England*; but the price thereof stands
 “ charged on the said Houses of Parliament.

“ This was not above a week's Provision, or
 “ thereabouts, of Victuals, for the Army in *Leinster*,
 “ being fifteen Regiments of Foot, and twenty-two
 “ Troops of Horse, and four Troops of Dragoons,
 “ besides Train of Artillery, and four hundred
 “ Firelocks; so as certainly there was a failure in

“ supplying Us, and that failure was not occasioned B O O K
 “ through any neglect on Our parts, in not represent- VII.
 “ ing thither the wants and extremities endured by
 “ this Army; and the means of their Supply is, as
 “ We conceive, very clear by those several despatches
 “ sent from Us to Mr. Speaker. And seeing, that
 “ the charge of this War was referred to, and under-
 “ taken by the Houses of Parliament of *England*,
 “ and that by those despatches they fully understood
 “ the Condition of affairs here, We offer it to any
 “ Man’s consideration, whether or no We had not
 “ just cause to conceive, and accordingly to express
 “ in that Act of Council, that our difficulties, which
 “ were necessary to be mentioned in that Act, were
 “ occasioned through the failure of the Houses of
 “ Parliament in *England*.

“ And whereas you write, that the Lords and
 “ Commons in Parliament do believe We have sent
 “ Copies of our said Letters, and Act of Council to
 “ his Majesty, it is true, that We have so done; and
 “ therein acquitted ourselves towards that Duty
 “ which We owe Him; and had failed in our Duties,
 “ if We had done otherwise. But how from that, as
 “ We conceive, necessary and true expression of Ours
 “ in the said Act of Council, or from our sending a
 “ Copy thereof, and of our said Letters to his Ma-
 “ jesty, there can be any just cause to suspect (as your
 “ Letters seem to infer) there is such an impious
 “ design now on foot, as your Letters mention, We
 “ confess We do not understand, or any design at all
 “ other than the needful settling here of the im-
 “ position, in Nature of an Excise, in those our Letters

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“ and Act of Council mentioned ; without which
“ this Army could not have subsisted to this time ;
“ and was pressed by the Committee from the Par-
“ liament here, but then avoided ; Our hopes being
“ then more, and our necessities not so great as they
“ were when We laid it. And as We find by your
“ Letters, that the Lords and Commons in Parlia-
“ ment there have done Us the right , by your said
“ Letters, to signify that they cannot think We
“ intended by that expression, to farther the design
“ in your Letters mentioned, so We hold it necessary
“ to declare, that We neither have forgotten, nor can
“ forget, the present Condition of that Kingdom ;
“ but We have a long time beheld, and still behold,
“ and lament with bleeding Hearts, the woful Con-
“ dition of that Kingdom, and how God’s hand is
“ still stretched out against Us, in those heavy Distrac-
“ tions there ; yet We comfort ourselves with hope,
“ that God, in mercy to his Majesty, and to all his
“ Kingdoms and People, will at length, in his own
“ good time, answer the Prayers and Tears of Us his
“ Majesty’s Servants, and many thousands of others
“ his good Subjects there, and here, continually
“ poured out for his Majesty, and his Kingdom, in
“ removing that heavy judgment, and settling Peace
“ and Tranquillity there, to the Glory of God, the
“ Honor of his Majesty, and the joint Happiness of all
“ his Subjects, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions.
“ Nor have We forgotten the Supplies of all sorts
“ sent hither by the Parliament, but do very well
“ remember them. But We confess We know not,
“ what relief coming hither hath been taken away,

“ either by Sea or Land, or by whom, or what dif-
 “ couragement hath been given them in return :
 “ Only We have heard, that the Shipping, employed
 “ by the Rebels at *Wexford*, did give them some
 “ interruption at Sea; and that was occasioned by
 “ neglect of duty in those who Commanded the
 “ Ships designed for the Guard of the Coasts of this
 “ Kingdom: And the said Ship bound hither from
 “ *Holland* with Munition, which We had contracted
 “ for here, was intercepted at Sea, and carried to
 “ *Calais*, and afterwards set free there, by the media-
 “ tion of his Majesty and the Houses of Parliament in
 “ *England*. And We find that some Ships, sent hither
 “ it seems at first with Provisions from *London*, and
 “ other Ships bound hither with Provisions on pri-
 “ vate Men’s Adventures, were taken away even
 “ from this Harbour, a few days before the Cessation
 “ of Arms here, as they were coming in, and carried
 “ to *Liverpool*, by one Captain *Dausk*, a Person em-
 “ ployed by the two Houses of Parliament there, in
 “ the Command of a Ship, and that Ship commanded
 “ by *Dausk*, and other Ships employed at *Liverpool*,
 “ do now, and have a long time stayed on that side,
 “ laden with Provisions of Victuals, Coals, and other
 “ necessary relief bound from thence hither to be
 “ sold; which, if they had arrived here, would have
 “ brought great relief to this Army, and the Inhabit-
 “ ants in this City, though on the Adventure of the
 “ Bringers; which We hold necessary to represent
 “ thither, to the end that their uncharitableness
 “ towards these poor Men that would Adventure
 “ hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity towards

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“ this distressed Army, and City, and many of his
“ Majesty’s Protestant Subjects therein, might ap-
“ pear so, as they, or others, may not presume here-
“ after to offend in that kind.

“ And whereas you write, that We should not
“ conceive that only the Charge of this War was re-
“ ferred to, and undertaken by the Parliament, as if
“ Their part were to be our Bankers, only to pro-
“ vide Monies for Us to spend, and were not to
“ advise, and direct the managing of the War; We
“ confess We neither did, nor do conceive the Par-
“ liament there to be Bankers for Us; but did esteem
“ them, as those to whom the King our Master
“ referred the Charge of this War, and to whom, as
“ so intrusted by his Majesty, this Board, from time
“ to time, made application; and if any advice had
“ come from them, concerning the managing of the
“ War, We should have endeavoured to have made
“ the best use thereof, for the furtherance of his Ma-
“ jesty’s Service here. And here We hold it necessary
“ to declare, that when We understood, that his
“ Majesty, at the humble desire of the Lords and
“ Commons of Parliament in *England*, had, in
“ *April* 1642, granted a Commission to some Mem-
“ bers of both Houses, for ordering and disposing
“ all matters there, for the defence, relief, and re-
“ covery of this Kingdom; and that his Majesty
“ Commanded all his Officers, Ministers, and Sub-
“ jects of his Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, to
“ be obedient, aiding, and assisting to the said
“ Commissioners in the due execution of the said
“ Commission; and that by his Majesty’s instructions,

“ annexed to the said Commission, his Majesty gave
“ it in charge to those Commissioners, to advertise
“ his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Council, and other
“ Governors and Commanders here, what they
“ conceived to be needful for the prosecution of the
“ War in the best manner, for the defence of this his
“ Kingdom, and ease of the great Charges and Expens-
“ ses, which, by occasion of this Rebellion, lay
“ upon his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of *Eng-
“ land*: We therefore, by our Letters of the seventh
“ of *June* 1642, directed to those his Majesty’s Com-
“ missioners, besought, among other things, present
“ and particular direction for the prosecution of the
“ War; which yet We have not received: only
“ We had advice from thence, to send some Forces
“ into *Connaught*; which was done; and for sending
“ some Forces into *Munster*, which, by Our Letters
“ of the thirteenth of *September* 1642 to the Commis-
“ sioners there, We signified was not possible for Us
“ to do, unless We were plentifully supplied of those
“ things, whereof the wants then certified thither did
“ then disable Us.

“ Concerning the Commission in your Letters men-
“ tioned, it was not to hear what the Rebels would
“ say, or propound for their own advantage, as your
“ Letters mention; but his Majesty having received
“ an humble Petition, in the name of the Recusants
“ of *Ireland*, desiring to be heard, his Majesty thought
“ it not unjust, or inconvenient for him, to receive
“ from them what they could say unto him; to whom
“ they insinuated that they would yet yield due obe-
“ dience. And therefore his Majesty, by his Com-

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“ mission under the Great Seal of *England* (wherein
“ he declared his extreme detestation of the odious
“ Rebellion, which the Recusants of *Ireland* have,
“ without any ground or color, raised against Him,
“ his Crown, and Dignity) Authorized some of his
“ Ministers here, to hear at large what the Petitioners
“ should say, or propound; which his Majesty, by
“ the said Commission, directed that the Petitioners,
“ or the principal of them, Authorized by the rest,
“ should set down in writing under their hands; and
“ the Commissioners to send the same to his Majesty;
“ whereupon his Majesty by the said Commission
“ declared, he would take such farther consideration,
“ as should be just, honorable, and fit for his Ma-
“ jesty: And that that Course gave not the least inter-
“ ruption to the proceeding of the War, appears by
“ this, that on the eighteenth of *March* (being in the
“ time the Commissioners, Authorized by his Ma-
“ jesty, gave meeting to those of the other side, upon
“ that Commission) the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*,
“ though one of those Commissioners, in his return
“ from *Rosfe* with about two thousand five hundred
“ Foot, and five hundred Horse of his Majesty’s
“ Army, fought with the Army of the Rebels,
“ consisting of about six thousand Foot, and six hun-
“ dred and fifty Horse, and obtained a happy and
“ glorious Victory against them; and the Rebels
“ Army being Defeated, and wholly Routed, and
“ their Baggage and Munition seized on, his Ma-
“ jesty’s Forces lodged that night where they had
“ gained the Victory, as by former Letters of this
“ Board, of the fourth of *April* 1643, directed to Mr.

" Speaker, We formerly signified thither : which
" We thus repeat, to manifest that that Commission,
" or the Meeting thereupon, gave not any manner
" of interruption to the proceeding of the War.

" Concerning the Letters you mention, to divest
" the Committee of both Houses there of an Author-
" ity given them by both Houses, We remember
" that his Majesty, by his Letters of the third of *Fe-*
" *bruary* 1642, understanding that the then Justices
" and Council had admitted, without His order or
" knowledge, to sit in Council with them in this his
" Kingdom, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* and Mr. *Reynolds*,
" and that thereby they were become so bold, as to
" take upon them to hear, and debate of matters
" Treated of in Council, his Majesty, by his said
" Letters, signified by his express Command, that
" they should not be permitted to sit, or be present
" any more at his Majesty's Council-Table here; but
" if they had any business, his Majesty willed, that
" they should attend as others of their Quality :
" which his Majesty's pleasure was humbly obeyed
" by his said Justices, and Council, with that Duty
" and Submission, which was due from them to his
" Royal Commands. And as his Majesty, by his said
" Letters required, that, if those Persons had any
" business, they should attend, as others of their
" Quality; so, if they had afterwards offered any
" business at this Board, they should have been heard
" therein; which was also signified to them before
" their departure hence. And now, upon this occa-
" sion, We having perused the Copies they delivered
" at this Board, of the Order of both Houses dated

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“ the sixth of *October* 1642, and of their Instructions,
 “ do find indeed, that, by the said Order, the said
 “ *Robert Reynolds*, and *Robert Goodwin*, were to have
 “ the Credence, Power, and Esteem of a Com-
 “ mittee sent hither by the Advice, and Authority
 “ of both Houses of Parliament; and that, by the
 “ said Instructions, they were to be admitted to be
 “ present, and Vote at all Consultations concerning
 “ the War; yet there is nothing in the said Order, or
 “ Instructions, for admitting them to sit, or be pre-
 “ sent at his Majesty’s Council-Table; which is that
 “ which his Majesty, by his said Letters, required,
 “ should not be permitted; which cannot be con-
 “ ceived to be a divesting them of any Authority
 “ given them by both Houses.

“ And as to the late Alteration of Governmen there,
 “ expressed in your Letters, although his Majesty in
 “ his high wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those
 “ Governors, which he had placed here, which
 “ was no more than He, and his Royal Predecessors
 “ had usually done in all Ages, as often as they
 “ thought fit, yet that made no alteration in the
 “ Government; but it in all times continued, and
 “ still continues the same; though in other Persons.

“ That part of your Letters which declares, that
 “ you are forbidden to tell Us what Supplies of
 “ Money, Victual, Ammunition, and other Necessi-
 “ taries, were then in a good forwardness to be sent
 “ hither for the support of the Officers, and Soldiers
 “ here, requires no Answer on Our parts, other than
 “ this truth, that they are not yet arrived here. Con-
 “ cerning *Mountrose’s* Letters to Colonel *Crawford*,

" We know of no Treason to be discovered thereby ; B O O K
 " but for the Sea-Captains in your Letters mentioned, VII.
 " it is certain that their neglects and misdeeds deserve
 " punishment, which We desire they may find rather
 " to their correction , than to their ruin.
 " Thus We have given Answer to those parts of
 " your Letters , which , We conceived , concerned
 " Us ; whereby , We hope , both Houses of Parlia-
 " ment there will now remain satisfied, as in the neces-
 " sity and justice of our Actions , so in the truth and
 " candor of our Intentions , in those particulars to
 " which your said Letters seem to take exception.
 " And so We remain ,

From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.

" Your Lordships very loving Friends,

<i>Jo. Borlase.</i>	<i>Hen. Tichborne.</i>	<i>Rich. Bolton, Canc.</i>
<i>La. Dublin.</i>	<i>Ormond.</i>	<i>Roscommon.</i>
<i>Ant. Midenfis.</i>	<i>Ed. Brabazon.</i>	<i>Char. Lambert.</i>
<i>Geo. Shurley.</i>	<i>Ger. Lowther.</i>	<i>Tho. Rotherham.</i>
<i>Fr. Willoughby.</i>	<i>Tho. Lucas.</i>	<i>Ja. Ware.</i>
	<i>G. Wentworth.</i>	

The distraction in *Ireland* being , by means of the
 Cessation , in some degree allayed , and both Parties
 having time to breathe , the King , in the next place ,
 considered how he might apply that Cessation to the
 Advancement of his Affairs in *England*. One of the
 principal Motives that induced that Cessation , was
 the miserable State of the Army there , ready , through
 extreme wants , to disband ; so that there being now
 less use of them there , and an impossibility to keep
 them , his Majesty had it only in his Election , whether

B O O K he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of
VII. themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared, to his own Assistance in *England*; to which he was assured, that the devotion, and affection of most of the principal or considerable Officers there, cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in *Scotland*, to invade this Kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of *Leven*, who Commanded the *Scotch* Forces in *Ireland*, and many other Officers and Soldiers out of that Kingdom, to form and conduct their Army into This; and that there were also Arts and Industry used, by some Agents for the Parliament, to persuade the *English* Officers likewise to bring over their Men for their Service.

The King
 sends for part
 of the English
 Army out of
 Ireland.

So that the King directed the Marquis of *Ormond*, to make choice of such Regiments, and Troops, as were necessary for the Defence of the several Garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that Kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for *England*. To which purpose, Shipping was sent; with direction that those from, and about *Dublin*, Should be Shipped for *Chester*, to be joined to those Forces under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of Sir *William Bruerton*; who, by an addition of Forces from *London*, and with the Assistance of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and Sir *John Gell*, was grown very strong;
 being

being backed by *Lancashire*, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the Parliament: and that the other Forces out of *Munster* should be landed at *Bristol*, to be disposed by the Lord *Hopton*; who was forming a new Army, to oppose Sir *William Waller*; who threatened an Inroad into the West; or rather to seek him out by visiting *Hampshire*, and *Suffex*, if the other were not ready to advance.

The Court at *Oxford* was much increased by the Queen's Presence, and the necessities were increased with the expense. All correspondence was absolutely broken with *London*, insomuch as a sworn Messenger of the Chamber, sent to *London* with a Writ, and Proclamation for the Adjournment of the Term to *Oxford*, was apprehended as a Spy (as hath been said before) and executed by Martial Law; and the two Houses had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, and Inscription, and put the same into the hands of Commissioners; and so the Courts were continued in *Westminster-Hall*, for the despatch of Justice (as they called it) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the King's Proclamation. The Money, which by the particular Persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied in the beginning of the War, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with *London*, had shut the door against farther Supply; so that all Men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it as weary Men used to do, in Murmurs and Complaints. And now all the hope was in the Convention of the Members of Parliament; which being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administered some expect-

B O O K tation, what they, who came from all Quarters of the
VII. Kingdom, would do.

The Members
 of both Houses
 met at Oxford.

According to the King's Proclamation, the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of Conscience and Duty from those at *Westminster*, appeared at *Oxford* at the day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their Commands in the Counties, were the Armies were. They were graciously, and solemnly welcomed by his Majesty. with that Ceremony which is used at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majesty told them:

The Substance
 of the King's
 Speech to
 them.

“ That he had called them to be Witnesses of his
 “ Actions, and privy to his Intentions; and that he
 “ desired to receive any Advice from them, which
 “ they thought would be suitable to the miserable
 “ and distracted condition of the Kingdom; in pre-
 “ senting whereof, they should use all that Parlia-
 “ mentary freedom which would be due to them if
 “ they were with him at *Westminster*, and which,
 “ with all their other Privileges, they should enjoy at
 “ *Oxford*, though they could not in the other place;”
 with many expressions of grace towards them, and
 confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn
 to those places which were assigned to their Counsels,
 both Lords and Commons entered upon the deli-
 beration of all possible expedients, in order to Peace;
 most Men believing, according to the reason and
 conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was
 greater, to dispose those at *London* to the honesty and
 confidence of a Treaty, than, in that Treaty, to agree
 on such Conclusions as might be satisfactory to all
 Parties, judging it impossible, that Men could desire

to bring ruin and desolation upon their Country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the King to send a gracious Message and Overture to the two Houses, they presently remembered, and considered, what his Majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of Reverence and Duty he had received from them: That to the twolast Messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned Answer, and that they still detained his last Messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a Trial for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any kind of Address to be made to them from his Majesty, except through the hands of the Earl of *Essex* their General. From thence those at *Oxford* entered upon the disquisition, how they might engage his Lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believed, Experience, Observation, and Interest, would engage him. They persuaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all Overtures from his Majesty towards Peace, was the Conscience those at *Westminster* had of their own guilt, and the jealousy, that proceeded from thence, that no Peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his Majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the King's Party; which

B O O K must be security for the accomplishment of it. From
VII. the reasonableness of this Assertion, they entertained
 an Assurance, that the Earl of *Essex* would as greedily
 embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in
 promoting the Overture; which was all they desired:
 for that would remove those forms, which, as so
 many Rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords
 and Commons, the Members of both Houses, re-
 solved to write a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, in their
 own Names, which, with the King's Consent, was by
 Trumpet sent to him, within four days after their
 meeting. The Letter was in these very terms.

They send a
 Letter to the
 Earl of Essex.

My Lord.

“ His Majesty having, by his Proclamation of the
 “ 22^d of *December* (upon the occasion of the Inva-
 “ sion threatened, and in part begun, by some of
 “ his Subjects of *Scotland*) summoned all the Mem-
 “ bers of both Houses of Parliament, to attend him
 “ here at *Oxford*, We whose Names are underwrit-
 “ ten, are here met and assembled, in obedience to
 “ those his Majesty's Commands. His Majesty was
 “ pleased to invite Us, in the said Proclamation, by
 “ these gracious Expressions, that his Subjects should
 “ see, how willing he was to receive Advice, for the
 “ preservation of the Religion, Laws, and Safety of
 “ the Kingdom, and as far as in him lay, to restore it
 “ to it's former Peace and Security (his chief and
 “ only end) from those whom they had trusted;
 “ though he could not receive it in the place where
 “ he appointed. This most gracious Invitation hath
 “ not only been made good unto Us, but seconded,
 “ and heightened by such unquestionable Demon-

" strations of the deep and Princely sense, which
 " possesses his Royal heart, of the Miseries, and
 " Calamities of his poor Subjects in this unnatural
 " War, and of his most entire and passionate Affec-
 " tions to redeem them from that sad and deplorable
 " condition, by all ways possible, consistent either
 " with his Honor, or with the future Safety of the
 " Kingdom, that as it were impiety to question the
 " sincerity of them, so were it great want of duty and
 " faithfulness in Us (his Majesty having vouchsafed
 " to declare, that he did call Us to be Witnesses of his
 " Actions, and Privy to his Intentions) should We
 " not Testify, and Witness to all the world, the
 " Assurance We have of the piety and sincerity of
 " both. We being most entirely satisfied of this truth,
 " We cannot but confess, that amidst our highest
 " Afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense of the
 " present miseries and desolations of our Country,
 " and those farther dangers threatened from *Scotland*,
 " We are at length erected to some cheerful and com-
 " fortable thoughts, that possibly We may yet (by
 " God's mercy, if his justice have not determined this
 " Nation, for it's Sins, to total ruin and desolation)
 " hope to be happy Instruments of our Country's
 " redemption, from the miseries of War, and restitu-
 " tion to the blessing of Peace;
 " And We being desirous to believe your Lord-
 " ship, however engaged, a Person likely to be
 " sensibly touched with these considerations, have
 " thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed
 " work, which is only capable to repair all our mis-
 " fortunes, and to buoy up the Kingdom from ruin;

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“ that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations
 “ that have power upon Honor, Conscience, or
 “ public Piety, that laying to heart, as We do, the
 “ inward bleeding condition of your Country, and
 “ the outward more menacing destruction by a
 “ Foreign Nation, upon the very point of invading
 “ it, you will co-operate with Us to it's preservation,
 “ by truly representing to, and faithfully and indus-
 “ triously promoting with those by whom you are
 “ trusted, this following most sincere, and most
 “ earnest desire of ours; that they joining with Us in
 “ a right sense of the past, present, and more threat-
 “ ening Calamities of this deplorable Kingdom,
 “ some Persons be appointed on either part, and a
 “ place agreed on, to Treat of such a Peace, as may
 “ yet redeem it from the Brink of Desolation.

“ This Address We should not have made, but
 “ that his Majesty's Summons, by which We are
 “ met, most graciously proclaiming Pardon to all
 “ without exception, is evidence enough, that his
 “ mercy and clemency can transcend all former pro-
 “ vocations; and that he hath not only made Us
 “ Witnesses of his Princely Intentions, but honored
 “ Us also with the Name of being security for them.
 “ God Almighty direct your Lordship, and those to
 “ whom you shall present these our most real desires,
 “ in such a Course as may produce that happy Peace,
 “ and Settlement of the present distractions; which
 “ is so heartily desired, and prayed for, by Us, and
 “ which may make Us,

“ Your, &c.

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

This Letter was Subscribed by his Highness the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and three-and-forty Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen Members of the House of Commons; there being such expedition used in the despatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater Subscription: Albeit it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty Peers absent with his Majesty's leave, and employed in his Affairs, and Armies, in the Kingdom; and ten at the same time in the Parts beyond the Seas. So that the Numbers at *London* were very thin; for there were not above two-and-twenty Peers, who either sat in the Parliament, or were engaged in their Party; that is to say, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Essex*, *Kent*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, *Mulgrave*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, *Bullingbrook*; the Lords *Say*, *Dacres*, *Wharton*, *Grey of Wark*, *Willoughby of Parham*, *Howard of Escrick*, *Rochfort*, and *Robarts*; who were present, or had Proxies there.

The Trumpeter found the Earl of *Essex* at his House in *London*, where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the Committee of both Houses, that Committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the two Kingdoms (the *Scottish* Commissioners being a part of it) resorted to the Earl for his Advice: and in the end, the Trumpeter returned with this short Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General.

BOOK

My Lord,

VII.

The Earl of
Fife's An-
swer directed
to the Earl of
Forth with
the two fol-
lowing Decla-
rations.

" I received this day a Letter, of the 29th of this
" instant, from your Lordship, and a Parchment
" Subscribed by the Prince, Duke of *York*, and divers
" other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having
" Address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor
" therein, there being any acknowledgment of them,
" I could not communicate it to them. My Lord,
" the maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and
" of the Privileges thereof, is that for which We are
" resolved to spend our Blood; as being the founda-
" tion whereupon all our Laws, and Liberties are
" built. I send your Lordship herewith a National
" Covenant, solemnly entered into by both the King-
" doms of *England* and *Scotland*; and a Declaration
" passed by them both together, with another Decla-
" ration of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I rest

Your Lordships, &c.

What the Covenant was, being the same particu-
larly set down before, I need not mention; and the
Declarations are as public, and would be thought
too large to be in this place inserted, to the interrup-
tion of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be
amiss to make a short Extract of some particular
heads, or conclusions of them; that the world may see
what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and
that they were as bold with God as with the King.

An Extract of
the Declara-
tion of the
Kingdom of
Scotland.

That Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
alone, was, to justify their present expedition into *En-
gland*; in which they said, "It was most necessary, that
" every one, against all doubting, should be persuaded
" in his mind of the lawfulness of his Undertaking,

“ and of the goodness of the Cause maintained by him,
 “ which they said was no other, than the good of
 “ Religion in *England*, and the deliverance of their
 “ Brethren out of the depths of Affliction; the pre-
 “ servation of their own Religion, and of Themsel-
 “ ves from the extremity of Misery, and the Safety
 “ of their Native King, and his Kingdoms, from
 “ destruction and desolation. Any one of which (they
 “ said) by all Law divine, and human, was too
 “ just cause of taking of Arms; how much more,
 “ when all of them were joined in one? And there-
 “ fore, they wished any Man, who did withdraw,
 “ and hide himself in such a Debate and Controversy,
 “ to consider, whether he were not a hater of his
 “ Brethren, against Christian and common Charity;
 “ a hater of Himself and his Posterity, against the
 “ law and light of Nature; a hater of the King, and
 “ his Kingdoms, against Loyalty, and common
 “ Duty; and a hater of God, against all Religion,
 “ and Peace.”

They said, “ the Question was not, nor need they
 “ dispute, whether they might propagate their Re-
 “ ligion by Arms; but whether, according to their
 “ power, they ought to assist their Brethren in
 “ *England*, who were calling for their help, and were
 “ shedding their Blood in defence of that power with-
 “ out which Religion could neither be defended, nor
 “ reformed; nor unity of Religion with them, and
 “ other Reformed Kirks, be attained. So that, they
 “ said, the Question was no sooner rightly stated,
 “ but it was as soon resolved; and concluded, *that the*
 “ *Lord would save them from the curse of Meroz, who*
 “ *came not to help the Lord against the Mighty.* They

- B O O K VII. “ said, the Question could not be, as their Enemies
 “ would make it, whether they should enter into
 “ *England*, and lift Arms against their own King,
 “ who had promised and done as much, as might
 “ secure them in their own Religion, and Liberties:
 “ but whether against the Popish, Prelatical, and
 “ Malignant Party, their Adherents prevailing in
 “ *England and Ireland*, they were not bound to pro-
 “ vide for their own preservation. That they might
 “ well have known, from their continual experience,
 “ ever since the time of their first Reformation,
 “ especially after the two Kingdoms were united
 “ under one Head and Monarch, and from the Prin-
 “ ciples of their own Declarations, in the time of their
 “ late Troubles and Dangers, that they could not
 “ long, like *Goshen*, enjoy their light, if darkness
 “ should cover the face of other Reformed Kirks:
 “ that *Juda* could not long continue in Liberty, if
 “ *Israel* were led away in Captivity; and that the
 “ condition of the one Kirk and Kingdom, whether
 “ in Religion or Peace, must be common to both.
 “ They said the Question was not, whether they
 “ should presume to be Arbitrators in the matter,
 “ now debated by Fire and Sword, betwixt his
 “ Majesty and the Houses of Parliament; which
 “ might seem to be foreign and extrinsecal to that
 “ Nation, and wherein they might be conceived to
 “ have no Interest; but whether, their Mediation
 “ and Intercession being rejected by the one Side,
 “ upon hope of Victory, or suppose by both Sides,
 “ upon confidence of their own strength and several
 “ Successes, it were not their duty, it being in their
 “ power, to stop or prevent the Effusion of Christian

“ Blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour
 “ to rescue their Native King, his Crown, and Pos- **B O O K**
 “ terity, out of the midst of so many dangers, and **VII.**
 “ to preserve his People and Kingdom from Ruin
 “ and Destruction. If every private Man were bound
 “ in duty to interpose himself as a Reconciler, and
 “ Sequestrator between his Neighbours, armed to
 “ their mutual Destruction; if the Son ought to
 “ hazard his own Life for the preservation of his
 “ Father and Brother, at Variance one against the
 “ other, should a Kingdom sit still, and suffer their
 “ King and Neighbouring Kingdom to perish in an
 “ unnatural War? In the time of Animosity, and
 “ appetite of Revenge, such an Interposing might
 “ be an irritation; but afterwards, when the Eyes of
 “ the mind, no more Blood-run with Passion, did
 “ discern things right, it would be no grief or offence
 “ of Heart, but matter of Thanksgiving to God,
 “ and to the Instruments which had kept from
 “ shedding Blood, and from Revenge.”

With this kind of Divinity, and this kind of Logic,
 to show that they had a clear prospect of whatever
 could be said against them, they resolved to Invade
 their Neighbour-Nation, and to interpose themselves
 as Reconcilers, by joining against their Native and
 Natural King, with his Rebellious Subjects, in all the
 Acts of Animosity and Blood, which have been ever
 practised in the most raging, and furious, Civil War.

The other Declaration, mentioned in the Earl's An Extract
of the De-
claration of
England and
Scotland.
 Letter, was a Declaration passed, and published in
 the Name of both Kingdoms, *England and Scotland*,
 after their Marriage by their new League and Cove-
 nant, and about the very time that this very Overture

BOOK VII. for Peace came from *Oxford*. They were now both equally inspired with the *Scotch* Dialect and Spirit; talked, "how clearly the light of the Gospel shined
 "amongst them; that they placed not their confidence in their own Counsels and Strength; but
 "their confidence was in God-Almighty, the Lord
 "of Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake his
 "People. It was his own Truth and Cause, which
 "they maintained against the Heresy, Superstition,
 "and Tyranny of Anti-Christ: the Glory of his
 "Name, the exaltation of the Kingdom of his Son,
 "and the preservation of his Church was their aim,
 "and the end which they had before their Eyes. It
 "was His Covenant, which they had solemnly in
 "both Nations Sworn, and Subscribed; which he
 "would not have put in their hearts to do, if he had
 "been minded to destroy them. Upon these and the
 "like grounds, and considerations, being confident
 "that this War, wherein both Nations were so firmly
 "united, and deeply engaged, was of God, they
 "resolve with Courage and Constancy to the end to
 "do their part; and the Lord who had stirred up
 "their Spirits, displayed his Banner before them, and
 "given the Alarm, do that which seemeth him good.
 "They gave now "Public warning to all Men to
 "rest no longer upon their Neutrality, or to please
 "themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext
 "of indifferency; but that they address themselves
 "speedily to take the Covenant, and join with all
 "their power, in the Defence of this Cause against
 "the Common Enemy; and by their Zeal, and forwardness hereafter, to make up what had been
 "wanting through their Lukewarmness; this they

“ would find to be their greatest Wisdom, and
 “ Safety; otherwise they did declare them to be
 “ Public Enemies to their Religion, and Country;
 “ and that they were to be censured and punished,
 “ as professed Adversaries, and Malignants.

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Then they proclaimed “ a Pardon to all those who
 “ would before such a day desert the King, and
 “ adhere to them, and take the Covenant;” and concluded,
 “ that they made not that Declaration, from
 “ any presumption, or vain glorying in the strength
 “ of their Armies and Forces, but from the sense of
 “ their Duty, which was required and expected from
 “ the high Places, and public Relations, wherein
 “ they stood; and from the Assurance they had of the
 “ Assistance of God, by whose Providence, the trust
 “ and safety of those Kingdoms was put into their
 “ hands at this time; having, after long and grave
 “ Consultation, resolved and decreed never to lay
 “ down Arms, till Truth and Peace, by the blessing
 “ of God, be settled in this Island, upon a firm foundation
 “ for the present, and future Generations;
 “ which, they said, should be esteemed of them an
 “ abundant reward of all that they could do, or
 “ suffer in that Cause.”

These were the Declarations which the Earl of
Essex, together with the Covenant, sent, as an Answer
 to that Letter from the Prince of *Wales*, and those
 Lords and Gentlemen; which might have been the
 foundation of an Honest, and Honorable Peace to all
 the King's Dominions. And I cannot but observe,
 that after this time that the Earl declined this opportunity
 of declaring himself, he never did prosperous
 Act in the remainder of his Life; but whereas before,

B O O K he had throughout the Course of his Command, how
VIL. unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal Courage and Conduct, and at this time was adorned with the Testimony of Friends and Enemies, of a right good General, upon the conclusion of the business of *Glocester*; he never, after his taking this Covenant, and writing this Letter, did one Successful thing; but proved Unfortunate in all he went about, even to his Death; of which We shall say more in it's place.

We the rather extracted these short Clauses of those two Declarations, that Posterity may observe the Divine hand of Almighty God upon the People of these miserable Kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent Form and Practice of Religion, which their Ancestors, and Themselves had observed, and enjoyed, with a greater measure of Happiness, than almost any Nation lived under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled, and thrown off those admirable incomparable Laws of Government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible Mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against by it; they should be now Captivated by a Prophane and Presumptuous entitling themselves to God's Favor, and using his holy Name in that manner, that all sober Christians must stand scandalized, and amazed at; and should be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impose upon Men unnurtered, and unacquainted with any Knowledge or Science.

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this Trumpet; and yet the Answer being so much in that Popular road, of saying something plausibly

to the People, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the World might see, that they did, in plain *English*, refuse to admit of any Peace. So the Earl of *Forth* was advised to write again to the other General, for a Safe-Conduct for two Gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from *Westminster*, to be sent by his Majesty concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Essex* returned Answer, "that whensoever he should receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he should use his best Endeavours; and when a Safe-Conduct should be desired for those Gentlemen, mentioned in his Letter, from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, his Lordship would, with all cheerfulness, show his willingness to farther any way that might produce that happiness, which all honest Men prayed for; which is a true understanding between his Majesty, and his faithful, and only Council, the Parliament."

This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a Letter from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament (together with some intimation in Letters from *London*, which at these Seasons never wanted) persuaded many, that the Earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the Houses with the Overture, and if it were once within the Walls, there were so many well affected to Peace, that the Proposition would not be rejected; though no particular Person, or Combination of Men, had the Courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the Field, as the Scene where the differences were like to be decided, his Majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded

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B O O K it would be rejected, to send this ensuing Message;
VII. which was enclosed to the Earl of *Essex* to be by him managed.

The King's
 Message to
 both Houses.

“ Out of Our most tender and pious Sense of the sad
 “ and bleeding Condition of this Our Kingdom, and
 “ Our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which
 “ by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it
 “ from an utter Ruin, by the advice of the Lords
 “ and Commons of Parliament, assembled at *Oxford*,
 “ We do propound, and desire, that a convenient
 “ Number of fit Persons may be appointed, and
 “ authorized by You, to meet, with all convenient
 “ speed, at such place as you shall Nominate, with
 “ an equal Number of fit Persons whom We shall
 “ appoint, and authorize to Treat of the ways and
 “ means to settle the present Distractions of this our
 “ Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace: And
 “ particularly, how all the Members of both Houses
 “ may securely meet in a full and free Convention of
 “ Parliament, there to Treat, Consult, and agree
 “ upon such things, as may conduce to the mainte-
 “ nance, and defence of the true Reformed Prote-
 “ stant Religion, with due consideration to all just,
 “ and reasonable ease of tender Consciences; to the
 “ settling and maintaining of our just Rights and
 “ Privileges, of the Rights and Privileges of Parlia-
 “ ment, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and
 “ Property of the Subject, and all other Expedients,
 “ that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and
 “ lasting Peace both in Church and State, and a per-
 “ fect understanding betwixt Us and our People:
 “ wherein no Endeavours, or Concurrence of Ours
 “ shall

"shall be wanting: And God direct your hearts in
 "the way of Peace." B O O K
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Given at Our Court at Oxford, 3d March 1643.

This Message, being signed by his Majesty, was superscribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*; which, though it was a Style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houses, and with the *Scottish* Commissioners, without whose Concurrence nothing was transacted, this Answer was returned to his Majesty; which put a period to all Men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those Councils, to any possible, and honest Accommodation.

May it please your Majesty:

"We the Lords and Commons assembled in the
 "Parliament of *England*, taking into our considera- The two Hon-
les Answer.
 "tion a Letter sent from your Majesty, dated the
 "3d of *March* instant, and directed to the Lords and
 "Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*
 "(which, by the contents of a Letter from the Earl
 "of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of *Essex*,
 "We conceive was intended to ourselves) have
 "resolved with the concurrent Advice, and Consent
 "of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
 "to represent to your Majesty, in all humility and
 "plainness, as followeth: That as We have used all
 "means for a just and safe Peace, so will We never
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“ be wanting to do our utmost for the procuring
“ thereof; but when We consider the expressions in
“ that Letter of your Majesty’s, We have more sad
“ and despairing thoughts of attaining the same than
“ ever, because thereby, those Persons now assem-
“ bled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their duty, have
“ deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal
“ condition with it. And this present Parliament,
“ convened according to known and fundamental
“ Laws of the Kingdom (the continuance whereof is
“ established by a Law consented to by your Ma-
“ jesty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the
“ scope and intention of that Letter being to make
“ provision how all the Members, as is pretended, of
“ both Houses may securely meet in a full and free
“ Convention of Parliament; whereof no other con-
“ clusion can be made, but that this present Parlia-
“ ment is not a full, nor free Convention; and that to
“ make it a full and free Convention of Parliament,
“ the presence of those is necessary, who notwith-
“ standing that they have deserted the great Trust,
“ and do levy War against the Parliament, are pre-
“ tended to be Members of the two Houses of
“ Parliament.

“ And hereupon We think ourselves bound to let
“ your Majesty know, that seeing the continuance
“ of this Parliament is settled by a Law, which (as all
“ other Laws of your Kingdom) your Majesty hath
“ sworn to maintain, as We are sworn to our Alle-
“ giance to your Majesty (these obligations being
“ reciprocal) We must in duty, and accordingly are
“ resolved, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend

“ and preserve the just Rights and full power of this
 “ Parliament; and do beseech your Majesty to be
 “ assured, that your Majesty’s Royal and hearty con-
 “ currence with Us herein, will be the most effectual
 “ and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting
 “ Peace in all your Majesty’s Dominions, and beget-
 “ ting a perfect Understanding between your Ma-
 “ jesty and your People: Without which, your
 “ Majesty’s most earnest professions, and our most
 “ real Intentions concerning the same, must necessa-
 “ rily be frustrated. And in case your Majesty’s three
 “ Kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this
 “ sad and bleeding condition, tending, by the con-
 “ tinuance of this unnatural War, to their ruin, your
 “ Majesty cannot be the least, nor the last Sufferer.
 “ God in his goodness incline your Royal breast, out
 “ of pity and compassion to those deep sufferings of
 “ your innocent People, to put a speedy and happy
 “ Issue to these desperate evils, by the joint advice of
 “ both your Kingdoms, now happily united in this
 “ Cause by their late solemn League and Covenant;
 “ which as it will prove the surest remedy, so it is the
 “ earnest prayer of your Majesty’s loving Subjects,
 “ the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parlia-
 “ ment of *England*.”

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Grey of Warke,

Speaker of the House of Peers in Parliament

Westminster the
9th of Mar. 1643.

[pro tempore;

William Lenthall,

Speaker of the House of Commons in Parliament.

BOOK

VII.

Means agreed
upon by the
Lords and
Commons at
Oxford to
raise Money.

The hope of Peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the Counsels remiss for the providing of Money to supply the Army: Upon which they had more hope than from a Treaty. But the Expedients for Money were not easily thought on; though there was a considerable part of the Kingdom within the King's Quarters, the Inhabitants were frequently robbed, and plundered by the Incurfions of the Enemy, and not very well secured against the Royal Troops, who begun to practise all the Licence of War. The Nobility, and Gentry, who were not Officers of the Army, lived for the most part in *Oxford*; and all that they could draw from their Estates, was but enough for their own Subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the People in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the Common-People might be preserved from Burdens; and they were as careful not to expose the King's Honor, or Name, to affronts and refusals; but were willing that the Envy and Clamor, if there should be any, should fall upon Themselves.

They appointed all the Members of the Commons, "to bring in the Names of all the Gentlemen of
" Estate, and other Persons who were reputed to be
" rich, within their severall precincts; and what Sum
" of Money every Body might be well able to supply
" the King with, in this exigent of the public State."
And then a form of a Letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a Sum;
" the Letter to be Subscribed by the two Speakers of
" the Houses, to the end that the People might know,

“ that it was by the advice of the Members of Par-
 “ liament assembled there; which was as much the
 “ advice of Parliament, as could be delivered at that
 “ time in the Kingdom.” When the way and method
 of this was approved by the Lords, and his Majesty
 likewise consented to it; they begun, the better to en-
 courage others, with Themselves; and caused Letters
 to be signed and delivered to the several Members of
 both Houses, for such Sums as they were well disposed
 to furnish; which were to that proportion as gave
 good Encouragement to others; and the like Letters
 to all Persons of condition who were in the Town.
 And by this means, there was a Sum raised in ready
 Money, and Credit, that did supply many necessary
 occasions, near the Sum of one hundred thousand
 pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable
 the King to provide for the next Campaign; which,
 the Spring coming on, was to be expected early; the
 Parliament at *Westminster* having raised vast Sums of
 Money, and being like to bring many Armies into
 the Field. All, who were to furnish Money upon
 these Letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in Plate,
 if that was for their convenience; the King having
 called the Officers and Workmen of his Mint to
Oxford, who Coined such Plate as was brought in;
 his Majesty likewise made a Grant of some Forests,
 Parks, and other Lands, to certain Persons in Trust,
 for the securing of such Money as should be borrow-
 ed, or those Persons who should be bound for the
 payment of such Money; and by this means likewise
 many considerable Sums of Money were procured,

B O O K and Clothes, and Shoes, and Shirts, were provided
VIL for the Army.

The two
 Houses at
 Westminster
 impose an
 Excise.

The two
 Houses at
 Oxford follow
 the Example.

The two Houses at *Westminster*, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the Parliament, had at this time by an Ordinance, that is an Order of both Houses, laid an imposition, which they called an Excise, upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and many other Commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the War. This was the first time, that ever the Name of payment of Excise was heard of, or practised in *England*; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the People: and this Pattern being then printed, and published at *London*, was thought by the Members at *Oxford*, as a good Expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed, and regulated by Commissioners, in the same Method it was done at *London*. And in *Oxford*, *Bristol*, and other Garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the Provisions of Arms and Ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assigned to; both sides making ample Declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, "that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the War, and then laid down, and utterly abolished;" which few wise Men believed it would ever be.

The high and insolent proceedings at *Westminster*, made no impression at *Oxford* towards the shaking the Allegiance, and Courage of those whom his Majesty had called to advise him. But when they found

the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to Peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who should continue true *English*-Men and Subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their Resolutions, that the People might see the Issue they were at; and therefore they published a Declaration of the Grounds and Motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at *Westminster*; in which they mentioned "all the indirect passages, and the Acts of Violence, by which they had been driven thence; and the obligations upon them in Conscience, and Law, to adhere to his Majesty; and the misery which the other Party had already brought upon the Kingdom, and the desolation which must inevitably follow these conclusions:" and with a greater Unanimity and Consent, than was ever known in so great a Council, where there were so many Persons of Honor, and Judges, and others Learned in the Law, among whom there was scarce one dissenting Voice, they declared,

BOOK
VII.

The Substance
of the Declara-
tion of the
Lords and
Commons at
Oxford.

1. "That all such Subjects of *Scotland*, as had consented to the Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concerning the present Expedition into *England*, had thereby denounced War against the Kingdom of *England*, and broke the Act of Pacification.

2. "That all his Majesty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance, and the Act of Pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of *Scotland* as had, or should enter upon any part of his Majesty's Realm and Dominions, as Traytors, and Enemies

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VII.

“ to the State; and that whosoever should Abet,
“ Aid, or Assist the *Scots* in their Invasion, shou'd be
“ deemed as Traytors and Enemies to the State.

3. “ That the Lords and Commons remaining at
“ *Westminster*, that had given their Votes, or Con-
“ sent, to the raising of Forces under the Command
“ of the Earl of *Essex*, or had been Abetting, Aiding,
“ or Assisting thereunto, had levied and raised War
“ against the King, and were therein guilty of High-
“ Treason.”

4. “ That these Lords and Commons remaining at
“ *Westminster*, that had given their Votes and Con-
“ sents for the making and using a new Great-Seal,
“ had thereby Counterfeited the King's Great-Seal,
“ and therein committed High-Treason.

5. “ That the Lords and Commons remaining at
“ *Westminster*, who had given their Consents to the
“ present coming in of the *Scots* in a Warlike manner,
“ had therein committed High-Treason: and that in
“ these three last Crimes, they had broken the Trust
“ reposed in them by their Country, and ought to be
“ proceeded against as Traytors to the King, and
“ Kingdom.”

So that the Engagements seemed fuller of Ani-
mosity on both sides, than ever; and the King ex-
ceedingly strengthened by the Lords and Commons
having more positively and concernedly wedded
his Cause, than they were before understood to
have done; and in truth, in the Civil Counsels,
nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable
Advancement.

It had been very happy for the King, if the Winter

had been spent only in those Counsels which might have provided Money, and facilitated the making his Army ready to take the Field in the Spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it, and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march; but the Invasion, which the *Scots* made in the depth of Winter, and the Courage the Enemy took from thence, deprived his Majesty even of any rest in that Season. Upon the *Scots* unexpected march into *England* in *January*, in a most violent Frost and Snow; hoping to reach *New-Castle* before it could be Fortified, and persuading their Common-Soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant Sir *Thomas Glemham* had been before sent to attend their coming, and the Marquis of *New-Castle* with his Army, upon the same of their Invasion, marched thither with a resolution to Fight with them before they should be able to join with the *English* Rebels; leaving in the mean time the Command of *York*, and the Forces for the guard of that County, to Colonel *John-Bellasis*, Son to the Lord-*Falconbridge*, a Person of great Interest in the Country, and of exemplary Industry and Courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his Army so far North, the Enemy grew to a great strength in those Parts; and not only able to disquiet *Yorkshire*, but drawing a great Body of Horse and Foot out of *Derbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, and *Lincolnshire*, sat down before his Majesty's Garrison of *Newark* upon *Trent*, with a full confidence to take it; and so to cut off all correspondence between his Majesty, and the Marquis of *New-Castle*. And Sir *Thomas*

BOOK
VII.

The Marquis
of New-Castle
marches to
oppose the
Scots.

BOOK

VII.

Sir Thomas
Fairfax De-
feats and takes
Col Bellasis
at Selby.

Whereupon
the Marquis
of New-Castle
retires to
York.

The Marquis
of Ormond
made Lord-
Lieutenant of
Ireland, sends
the King
Assistance.

Fairfax from *Hull*, in the head of a strong Party, had fallen upon a Quarter not far from *York*, Commanded by Colonel *John Bellasis* at *Selby*, and had totally Defeated it, taken the Cannon, and many Officers Prisoners, and amongst those the Colonel himself. This was the first Action for which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was taken Notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme General under the Parliament. This Defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the City of *York* had upon it; insomuch that the Marquis of *New-Castle*, who till then had kept the *Scots* at a Bay, found it necessary to withdraw his Army, and with great part of it to make haste into *York*, to prevent any farther mischief there; by which means the *Scots* were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and *Fairfax* improved his reputation by a speedy, and unlooked for march into *Cheeshire*.

Upon the Cessation in *Ireland*, the King made the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the Winter-Season (when the Parliaments Ships could not attend that Coast) to transport those Regiments of Foot which might be well spared during the Cessation, and which could not be supported there, to *Chester*; from whence his Majesty could easily draw them in the Spring to *Oxford*; and were, in truth, the principal Recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the Field. The Lord *Byron* then Commanded *Chester*, and that County; and was appointed to take care for the reception, and accommodation of those Troops; which was a right good Body of Foot, and being excellent Men, both Officers and Soldiers,

carried great terror with them from the time of their Landing; and quickly freed North *Wales* from the Enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of *November* when they Landed, and being a People who had been used to little ease in *Ireland*, the King having given the Lord *Byron* leave to employ them in such Services as might secure that Country, the Season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous of Action; and in the space of a Month reduced, by Assault and Storm, many places of notable importance, as *Howarden-Castle*, *Berston-Castle*, *Crew-House*, and other places of strength; and encountering the whole Body of the Rebels, at *Middlewich* in *Cheeshire*, Broke and Defeated them with great Slaughter; and drove all that Survived, and were at Liberty, into *Nantwich*; the single Garrison they had then left in *Cheeshire*: into which the whole Party was retired, and which had been Fortified and Garri-soned from the beginning of the Troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected in that County, and the Counties adjacent. The Pride of the late Success, and the Terror the Soldiers believed their Names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither: for it was about the first week in *January* when the Lord *Byron* came with his Army before the Town, and Summoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the King's Affairs, there being, between that and *Carlisle*, no one Town of Moment (*Manchester* only excepted) which declared against the King; and those two

B O O K populous Counties of *Chester*, and *LANCASHIRE*, if they
VII. had been united against the Parliament, would have been a strong Bulwark against the *Scots*.

These considerations, and an opinion that the Town would yield as soon as Summoned, brought the Army first thither; and then a passionate desire of Honor, and Contempt of the Enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they raised Batteries, and undertook a formal Siege against the Town. The seventeenth day of *January* they made a general Assault upon five several Quarters of the Town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal Courage opposed from within, and near three hundred Men lost, or wounded in the Service; which should have prevailed with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen, rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the Assailants, no less than the Besieged, desiring an Army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the *Irish* (for under that name, for distinction sake, we call that Body of Foot, though there was not an *Irish-Man* amongst them) supposing themselves Superior to any that would encounter them in the Field, and the Horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

The Irish
 Forces routed
 by Sir Thomas
 Fairfax at
 Nantwich.

In this their confidence, supply came too soon to the Town, and confusion to the King's Forces: For Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, upon his Victory at *Selby*, brought out of *Yorkshire*, a good Body of Horse to *Manchester*; and, out of that place, and the neigh-

bour-places, drew near three thousand Foot, with which joining with Sir *William Bruerton*, and some other scatered Forces from *Staffordshire*, and *Derby*, who had been Routed at *Middlewich*, he advanced near *Nantwich*, before he was looked for; the *Irish* being so over-confident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had Advertisement of their motion, they still believed that his utmost design was by Alarms to force them to rise from the Town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their Post too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little River, which divided their Forces, on a sudden thaw, so much swelled above it's Banks, that the Lord *Byron*, with the greatest part of the Horse, and the Foot which lay on one side of the Town, were severed from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles, before he could join with the other; before which time the other part, being Charged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on the one side, and From the Town on the other, were broken; and all the Chief-Officers forced to retire to a Church called *Acton*. Church, where they were caught as in a Trap, and the Horse, by reason of the deep ways with the sudden thaw, and narrow Lanes, and great Hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves Prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the Chief and Considerable Officers of Foot, near fifteen hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon, and Carriages: the Lord *Byron* with his Horse, and the rest of his Foot, retiring to *Chester*. There cannot be given a

BOOK
VII.

better, or it may be another reason for this Defeat, besides the Providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and disdain this Body had of the Enemy; and the presumption in their own Strength, Courage, and Conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of Battles: though it must be acknowledged, most of the Officers were Persons of signal Virtue, and Sobriety; and, in their own Natures, of great Modesty and Piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which Success, Valor, and even the Conscience of the Cause, is apt to produce in Men not over-much inclined to presumption.

There was another result of Council at *Oxford*, in this Winter-Season, which deserves to be mentioned; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the *Scots* were visibly Armed, and upon their march into *England*, which the King was the last Man in believing; and when there was no way to stop, or divert them, his Majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some Men of that Nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their Neighbours; to which Propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in Persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependance. The Earl of *Mountrose*, a young Man of a great Spirit, and of the most ancient Nobility, had been one of the most principal and active Covenanters in the begin-

The Earl of
Mountrose
comes to the
King, and

ning of the Troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that Party, and his Command in that Army; and at the King's being in *Scotland*, after the pacification, had made full tender of his Service to his Majesty; and was so much in the jealousy, and detestation of the violent Party, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was the Head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the King.

BOOK
VII.
informs him
of the state of
Scotland.

Upon the beginning of the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, and the manifestation that Duke *Hamilton* would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof (as hath been mentioned before) the Earl privately withdrew out of *Scotland*, and came to the King few days before the Siege was raised from *Glocester*, and gave his Majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke *Hamilton*, and of the posture that Kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart Propositions to the King for the remedy; which there was not then time to consult; but as soon as the King retired to *Oxford*, after the Battle of *Newbury*, and had had fuller Intelligence, by the resort of others of that Nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the Affairs stood in *Scotland*; and heard that Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanrick*, were upon their way as far as *York* towards *Oxford*; his Majesty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of *Mountrose*, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, "that they durst
" make no Propositions for the advancement of the

B O O K

VII.

“ King’s Service, except they might be first assured,
 “ that no part of it should be communicated to Duke
 “ *Hamilton*; nor He suffered to have any part or share
 “ in any Action that should depend upon it; for they
 “ were most assured, that he had always betrayed his
 “ Majesty; and that it had been absolutely in his
 “ power, to have prevented this new Combination,
 “ if he would resolutely have opposed it. But if they
 “ might be secure in that particular, they would
 “ make some such attempt under his Majesty’s Com-
 “ mission in their own Country, as might possibly
 “ make some disturbance there.” His Majesty thought
 he had much less reason to be confident of the Duke
 than formerly; for he had expressly failed of doing
 somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he
 thought, he had not ground enough to withdraw all
 kind of Trust from him, except he did, at the same
 time, secure him from being able to do him farther
 mischief; towards which kind of severity, he did not
 think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very
 good opinion of the Earl of *Lanrick*, as a Man of much
 more plainness and sincerity, than his Brother; as in
 truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full
 resolution in this important Affair, his Majesty ap-
 pointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the
 Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Ex-
 chequer, to examine the Earl of *Mountrose*, the Earl
 of *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and some others, upon
 Oath, of all things they could accuse Duke *Hamilton*,
 or his Brother *Lanrick* of; and to take their Exami-
 nations in writing; that so his Majesty might dis-
 cover, whether their Errors proceeded from infidelity,
 and

and consider the better, what Course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secrecy, as an Affair of that Nature could be, wherein so many were trusted. BOOK VII.

Upon their Examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude, that the Duke had not behaved himself with that Loyalty, as he ought to have done. The Earl of *Montrose*, whilst he had been of that Party, had been privy to much of his Correspondence, and Intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he Commanded the Fleet in the *Firth*, and when he had many Conferences with his Mother (who was a Woman most passionate in those contrivances) and with others of that Party; and when he did nothing to hurt, or incommode the Enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the Act of Oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the King in the Parliament of both Kingdoms: And, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of *Scotland*, it was manifest that the Duke had absolutely opposed all Overtures of force, and of seizing those Persons who could only be able to raise new Troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the King, and all the Lords, in consenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and summoned against the King's express Pleasure and Command, and without any pretence of Law. And to this, the King's Approbation and Consent had been shewed

B O O K to them, by the Duke, under the King's own hand;
VII. which they durst not disobey, though they forefaw the mischief.

The Case was thus; the Duke had given the King an account, after he had himself promised him that the Parliament should never be assembled (which his Majesty abhorred) "that though some few hot, and
 "passionate Men, desired to put themselves in Arms,
 "to stop both Elections of the Members and any
 "meeting together in Parliament; yet, that all sober
 "Men who could bear any considerable part in the
 "Action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as
 "much pains as they could to cause good Elections
 "to be made, and then to appear themselves; and
 "that they had hope to have such a Major part, that
 "they might more advantageously dissolve the
 "Meeting as soon as they came together, than prevent it; however, that Then would be the fit time
 "to protest against it, and immediately to put themselves into Arms, for which they would be well
 "provided at the same time;" and to this he desired the King's positive direction. And his Majesty, in Answer to it, had said, "since it was the opinion of
 "all his Friends, he would not Command them to
 "do that which was against their Judgment; but
 "would attend the Success; and was content that
 "they should all appear in the Parliament at it's first
 "meeting:" and the Duke had showed the Lords those words in the King's Letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one Person who was of that opinion, or had given

that Counsel, but had still detested the Expedient when proposed. BOOK
VII.

Then the Duke's Carriage in the Parliament, and his Brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the Testimony of those who were present; and the Earl of *Lanrick's* applying the Signet to the Proclamation for that Rendezvous where the Army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the Evidence, upon the Depositions of the Persons examined, was presented to the King for his own determination. His Majesty had some thoughts of sending to the Marquis of *New-Castle* to stop the Duke and his Brother at *York*, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to *Oxford*, and meant the same Night to have kissed their Majesties hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a Command from the King, "to keep their Chambers; and had a Guard attended them." The King resolved to consult the whole Affair then with the Council-Board, whereas, hitherto the Examinations had been taken by a Committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that purpose directed that a Transcript might be prepared, of all the Examinations at large; and that the Witnesses might be ready to appear before the Board, if it should be thought necessary: His Majesty at that time inclining to have both the Lords present, and the Depositions read, and the Witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second Morning after their coming to the Town, the Earl of *Lanrick*,

B O O K either having corrupted or deluded the Guard, found
VII. a means to escape; and by the assistance of one *Cunningham* (a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and of that Nation) had Horses ready; with which the Earl and his Friend fled, and went directly to *London*; where he was very well received. Hereupon the King informed the Board of the whole Affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in *Scotland*, and so, in many respects, it was not a Season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther Mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in Custody to the Castle at *Bristol*, and from thence to *Exeter*, and so to the Castle at *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*; where We shall at the present leave him.

Duke Hamilton made Prisoner at Oxford.

Mr. Pym's death.

About this time the Councils at *Westminster* lost a principal Supporter, by the death of *Jo. Pym*: who died with great Torment and Agony of a Disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *Morbus pediculofus*, as was reported; which rendered him an Object very Loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No Man had more to answer for the Miseries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand, or Head, deeper in their Contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his Life, than he designed. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of Life; his Education in the Office of the *Exchequer*, where he had been a Clerk; and his Parts rather acquired by Industry, than supplied by Nature, or adorned by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of those few, who had

fat in many; the long intermission of Parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the Rules, and Orders observed in those Conventions. This gave him some reputation, and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of Religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those Opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Interest with those who were not pleased with the Government of the Church, or the growing power of the Clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*. In the short Parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading Man; for besides the exact knowledge of the Forms, and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural, and proper; and understood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in Government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Dissolution of that Parliament, he continued for the most part about *London*, in Conversation and great Repute amongst those Lords who were most strangers to the Court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies, and discontents towards the

B O O K State; and as soon as this Parliament was resolved to
VII. be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such
Persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined
to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this Parliament, he appeared
passionate and prepared against the Earl of *Strafford*;
and though in private designing he was much govern-
ed by Mr. *Humbden*, and Mr. *Saint-John*, yet he
seemed to all Men to have the greatest Influence
upon the House of Commons of any Man; and, in
truth, I think he was at that time, and some Months
after, the most popular Man, and the most able to do
hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first
design of softening, and obliging the powerful Persons
in both Houses, when it was resolved to make the
Earl of *Bedford* Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, the
King likewise intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor
of the Exchequer; for which he received his Ma-
jesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable pro-
fession of his service and devotion; and thereupon,
the other being no secret, somewhat declined from
that sharpness in the House, which was more Popular
than any Man's, and made some Overtures to pro-
vide for the Glory and Splendor of the Crown; in
which he had so ill success, that his Interest and
Reputation there, visibly abated; and he found that
he was much better able to do Hurt than Good;
which wrought very much upon him to Melancholy,
and complaint of the violence and discomposure of
the People's Affections, and Inclinations. In the end,
whether, upon the death of the Earl of *Bedford*, he
despaired of that preferment, or whether he was

guilty of any thing, which, upon his Conversion to the Court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of Courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow Him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate Propositions. R O O R VII.

In the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was such as expressed much personal Animosity; and he was accused of having practised some Arts in it not worthy a good Man; as an *Irish* Man of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an Evidence of one part of the Charge against the Lord-Lieutenant, in a particular of which a Person of so vile Quality would not be reasonably thought a competent Informer; Mr. *Pym* gave him Money to buy him a Satin Suit and Cloak; in which Equipage he appeared at the Trial, and gave his Evidence; which if true, may make many other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great Sum of Money from the *French* Ambassador (which hath been before mentioned) to hinder the Transportation of those Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders*, upon the disbanding that Army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of *Strafford* for the business of *Scotland*; in which if his Majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted, and contradicted, by the Houses, many do believe the Rebellion in *Ireland* had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good Offices

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VII.

for particular Persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the Houses, and looked upon as eminent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of High-Treason by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other Members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all Overtures of Peace, and Accommodation; and when the Earl of *Essex* was disposed, the last Summer, by those Lords to an inclination towards a Treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. *Pym's* power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the *Scots* coming in to their Assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad Spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his last thoughts, and considerations were. He died towards the end of *December*, before the *Scots* entered; and was buried with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, in that place where the Bones of our *English* Kings and Princes are committed to their rest.

The Prince
Elector Ar-
rives at
London.

The Arrival of the Prince Elector at *London* was no less the discourse of all Tongues, than the death of Mr. *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was received and cherished by the King with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and

supplied with a Pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majesty to *York*, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his Majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an Army for his Defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the King many days notice of his resolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary Vessel, embarked himself for *Holland*, to the wonder of all Men; who thought it an unseasonable Declaration of his fear at least of the Parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident They esteemed not the King as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expressed a good Sense of his having deserted the King, and imputed it to his Conscience, "that he knew of some such designs of his Majesty, as he could not comply with." At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming (which were derived to *Oxford*, as somewhat that might have an Influence upon his Majesty's Counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the King) he arrived at *London*, and was received with Ceremony; Lodged in *White-Hall*, and Order taken for the payment of that Pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his Majesty; and a particular direction by both Houses, "that he should be admitted to sit in the Assembly of Divines;" where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the King took no other notice, than sometimes to express, "that he was sorry

B O O K " on his Nephew's behalf, that he thought fit to
VII. " declare such a compliance."

The Defeat of Colonel *John Bellaſtis* at *Selby* by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the destruction of all the *Irish* Regiments under the Lord *Byron*, together with the terror of the *Scottish* Army, had ſo let looſe all the King's Enemies in the Northern parts, which were lately at the King's Devotion, that his Friends were in great diſtreſs in all places before the Season was ripe to take the Field. The Earl of *Derby*, who had kept *Lancashire* in reaſonable Subjection, and incloſed all the Enemies of that County within the Town of *Mancheſter*, was no longer able to continue that reſtraint, but forced to place himſelf at a farther diſtance from them; which was like, in a ſhort time, to increaſe the Number of the Rebels there. *Newark*, a very neceſſary Garrifon in the County of *Nottingham* which had not only ſubjected that little County, the Town of *Nottingham* only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within it's own Walls, but had kept a great part of the large County of *Lincoln* under contribution, was now reduced to ſo great ſtraits by the Forces of that County, under the Command of *Meldrum* a *Scotch*-man, with addition of others from *Hull*, that they were compelled to beg relief from the King at *Oxford*; whiſt the Marquis of *New-Caſtle* had enough to do to keep the *Scots* at a Bay, and to put *York* in a condition to endure a Siege, if he ſhould be forced to continue within thoſe Walls.

In theſe ſtraits, though it was yet the depth of Winter, and to provide the better for the ſecurity of *Shrewſbury*, and *Cheſter*, and North-*Wales*, all which

were terrified with the Defeat of the Lord *Byron*, the King found it necessary to send Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of chosen Horse, and Dragoons, and some Foot, with direction, after he had visited *Shrewsbury* and *Chester*, and used all possible Endeavours to make new Levies, that he should attempt the relief of *Newark*: which being lost, would cut off all possible Communication between *Oxford* and *York*. In *Newark*, the Garrison consisted most of the Gentry of the Country, and the Inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a Siege, but Courage and excellent Affections. The Enemy intrenched themselves before the Town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the King to find a way for their relief. To send a Body from *Oxford* was very hazardous, and the Enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from *Shrewsbury*, and *Chester*, where Prince *Rupert* had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so considerable a Body together, that the Enemy found little advantage by their late Victory, in the enlargement of their Quarters. His Highness then resolved to try what he could do for *Newark*, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the Enemy, who had always excellent Intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and Charging and Routing some of their Horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he Besieged them in their own

VII.
Prince Ru-
pert is sent
to relieve
Newark,
and effects it.

- B O O K** Intrenchment, with his Horse, before his Foot came within four miles. In that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those straits, He, with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an Action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their Arms, or any Carriage or Baggage. Thus he relieved *Newark*, and took above four thousand Arms, eleven pieces of Brass-Cannon, two Mortar-pieces, and above fifty Barrels of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory, as any happened throughout the War; with this prosperous Action, which was performed on the 22^d of *March*, We shall conclude the Transactions of this Year.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K V I I I.

2 Efd. v. 9.

And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall Wit hide itself, and Understanding withdraw itself into his secret Chamber.

II. III. 5.

And the People shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child shall behave himself proudly against the Ancient, and the Base against the Honorable.

AS the Winter had been very unprosperous, and unsuccessful to the King, in the diminution and loss of those Forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the Enemy the year ensuing; so the Spring entered with no better presage. When both Armies had entered into their Winter-Quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at *London*, and the same of sending Sir *William Waller* into the West, put the King upon the resolution of having such a Body in

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BOOK VIII. his way, as might give him interruption, without Prince Maurice's being disturbed in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garrison of *Bristol*, and those Western Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Interest was very great; and by it he had in a short time raised a pretty Body of Foot and Horse; to which receiving an Addition of two very good Regiments (though not many in Number) out of *Munster*, under the Command of Sir *Charles Vavasour*, and Sir *John Pawlet*, and a good Troop of Horse under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been transported, according to former Orders, out of *Ireland* to *Bristol*, since the Cessation, that Lord advanced to *Salisbury*. and shortly after to *Winchester*; whither Sir *John Berkeley* brought him two Regiments more of Foot, raised by him in *Devonshire*; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horse; which, in so good a Post as *Winchester* was, would in a short time have grown to a considerable Army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended *Waller* in his Western Expedition; nor did He expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was informed of the Lord *Hopton's* being at *Winchester* with such a strength, he retired to *Farnham*; and Quartered there, till he gave his Masters an Account that he wanted other Supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation

of that time, that the Party, in all places, that wished well to the King (which consisted of most of the Gentry in most Counties; and for the present were awed, and kept under by the Militia, and the Committees of Parliament) had so good an opinion of their own Reputation and Interest, that they believed they were able, upon the Assistance of few Troops, to suppress their Neighbours who were of the other Party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their Authority over them with great rigor, and insolence. And so the Lord *Hopton* was no sooner possessed of *Winchester*, where Sir *William Ogle* had likewise seized upon the Castle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the Gentlemen of *Sussex*, and of the adjacent parts of *Hampshire*, sent privately to him, "that if he
 " would advance into Their Country, they would
 " undertake, in a short time, to make great Levies
 " of Men for the recruit of his Army; and likewise
 " to possess themselves of such places as they should
 " be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part
 " of the Country in the King's Obedience."

Sir *Edward Ford*, a Gentleman of a good Family; and fair Fortune in *Sussex*, had then a Regiment of Horse in the Lord *Hopton's* Troops, and the King had made him High-Sheriff of *Sussex* that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality: And they all besought the Lord *Hopton*, "that he would, since *Waller* was not like
 " to advance, at least send some Troops into those

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" parts, to give a little Countenance to the Levies
" they should be well able to make ;" assuring him,
" that they would, in the first place, seize upon
" *Arundel-Castle* ; which, standing near the Sea,
" would yield great advantage to the King's Service,
" and keep that rich Corner of the Country at his
" Majesty's Devotion." These, and many other
specious undertakings, disposed the Lord *Hopton*,
who had an extraordinary appetite to engage *Waller*
in a Battle, upon old accounts, to wish himself at
Liberty to comply with those Gentlemen's desires :
of all which, he gave such an Account to the King,
as made it appear, that he liked the design, and
thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a
Regiment or two of Foot, under good Officers ; for
that Quarter of *Sussex*, which he meant to visit, was
a fast and inclosed Country, and *Arundel-Castle* had a
Garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided,
as being without apprehension of an Enemy.

It was about *Christmas*, and the King had no farther
design for the Winter, than to keep *Waller* from
visiting and disturbing the West, and to recruit his
Army to such a degree as to be able to take the Field
early ; which he knew the Rebels resolved to do :
yet the good Post the Lord *Hopton* was already
possessed of at *Winchester*, and these positive under-
takings from *Sussex*, wrought upon many to think,
that this opportunity should not be lost. The King
had likewise great Assurance of the general good
Affections of the County of *Kent* ; insomuch as the
People had with difficulty been restrained from
making some attempt, upon the confidence of their

own

own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and *Suffex*, it might produce an Association little inferior to that of the Southern-Counties under the Earl of *Manchester*; and might, by the Spring, be an occasion of that distraction to the Parliament, that they should not well know to what part to dispose their Armies; and the King might apply his own to that part, and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

These, and other reasons prevailing, the King gave the Lord *Hopton* order to prosecute his design upon *Suffex*, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that *Waller* should not make advantage, upon that Enterprize, to find the way open to him to march into the West. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, Sir *Jacob Astley* was likewise sent to him from *Reading*, with a thousand commanded Men of that Garrison, *Wallingford*, and *Oxford*; which supply no sooner arrived at *Winchester*, but the Lord *Hopton* resolved to visit *Waller's* Quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the West. *Waller* was then Quartered at *Farnham*, and the Villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended to Fight, but, after some light Skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the Castle of *Farnham*, a place of some strength; and drew his Army into the Town; and within three or four days,

BOOK VIII. went himself to *London*, more effectually to solicit Recruits, than his Letters had been able to do.

When the Lord *Hopton* saw that he could attempt no farther upon those Troops, and was fully assured that Sir *William Waller* was himself gone to *London*, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the Gentlemen of *Sussex*; and marched thither, with such a Body of Horse and Foot, as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better Weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in it's Situation was strong; and though the Fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the Walls were good, and the Graff broad, and deep; and though the Garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful Army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any sudden Assault; and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been very secure against the Attempts of those without. But the Provisions of Victual, or Ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who Commanded, had not been accustomed to the prospect of an Enemy. So upon an easy and short Summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of Courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the Soldiers, the Castle was Surrendered the third day; and appeared to be

Arundel.
Castle Sur-
rendered to
the Lord
Hopton:

a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good Army. B O O K
VIII.

The Lord *Hopton*, after he had stayed there five or six days, and caused Provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the Command and Government thereof to Sir *Edward Ford*, High-Sheriff of the County, with a Garrison of above two hundred Men, besides many good Officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay there; as a place very favorable for the making Levies of Men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the Winter with better Accommodation.

The News of Sir *William Waller's* return to *Furnham* with strong recruits of Horse and Foot, made it necessary to the Lord *Hopton*, to leave *Arundel-Castle* before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not easy to be governed, nor like to conform themselves to such strict Rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoined to them was, "in the first place, setting all other things aside, to draw in store of Provisions of all kinds, both for the Numbers they were already, and for such as would probably in a short time be added to them;" all which from the great plenty that Country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would

B O O K have remained long such a Thorn in the side of the
VIII. Parliament, as would have rendered it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

Waller's Journey to *London* answered his expectation; and his Presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the Lord *Hopton's* Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress that Lord had made in *Suffex*, and his taking *Arundel-Castle*, made them thought to be greater than He reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awakened all their Jealousies and Apprehensions of the Affections of *Kent*, and all other places; and looked like a Land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their Armies by Levies of Volunteers, and persuading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their Freedom, for the time they Fought for them, as if they had remained in their Master's Service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this Torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible Magazine of Men, their devoted City, to whose Affections the Person of Sir *William Waller* was most acceptable; and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest Re-

giments of Auxiliaries, to march out of the Line to *Farnham*; which they consented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Essex* to give his Orders to Sir *William Balfour*, with one thousand of the Horse of his Army, likewise to observe *Waller's* Commands; who, with this great addition of Forces, made haste to his other Troops at *Farnham*; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the Lord *Hopton's* Troops lay Quartered, at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions (as beating up of Quarters was his Master-piece) all the Night; and, by the break of day, encompassed a great Village called *Alton*, where a Troop or two of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot of the King's lay in too much security. However, the Horse took the Alarm quickly, and for the most part, made their escape to *Winchester*, the head-Quarter; whither the Lord *Hopton* was returned but the Night before from *Arundel*. Colonel *Boles*, who Commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, consisting of about five hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garrison of *Wallingford*, when he found himself encompassed by the Enemies Army of Horse and Foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his Men into the Church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to Barricadoe the doors; so that the Enemy entered almost as soon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the Soldiers, over-powered, threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter; which was likewise offered to the Colonel;

B O O K who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till
VIII. with the death of two or three of the Assailants, he was killed in the place; his Enemies giving him a testimony of great Courage and Resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton's* Forces, and that the report which the Troops of Horse which had escaped, would make, would add nothing of Courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with great celerity, the hard Frost continuing, he marched with all his Army to *Arundel*-Castle, where he found that Garrison as unprovided as he could wish. For instead of increasing the Magazine of Victual by Supplies from the Country, they had spent much of that Store which the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Governor was a Man of Honesty and Courage, but unacquainted with that Affair, having no other experience in War, than what he had learned since these Troubles. The Officers were many without Command, amongst whom one Colonel *Bamford*, an *Irish*-man, though he called himself *Bamfield*, was one; who, being a Man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the Faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself Governor. In this distraction *Waller* found them, and by some of the Soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he so increased their Faction; and Animosity against one another, that after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, three or four days, near half the Men being

sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would
 trust each other longer, they gave the Place and
 Themselves up, as Prisoners of War upon Quarter;
 the Place being able to have defended itself against all
 that power, for a much longer time. Here the Learned
 and Eminent Mr. *Chillingworth* was taken Prisoner;
 who, out of kindness and respect to the Lord *Hopton*,
 had accompanied him in that march; and, being in-
 disposed by the terrible coldness of the Season, chose
 to repose himself in that Garrison, till the Weather
 should mend. As soon as his Person was known,
 which would have drawn Reverence from any noble
 Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, pro-
 secuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so
 that, by their Barbarous usage, he died within few
 days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many
 who knew him not but by his Book, and the Reputa-
 tion he had with Learned Men.

The Lord *Hopton* sustained the loss of that Regi-
 ment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a
 wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was
 the more inflamed with desire of a Battle with *Waller*,
 to make even all Accounts; and made what haste he
 could, upon the first Advertisement, to have redeemed
 that Misfortune; and hoped to have come time
 enough to Relieve *Arundel-Castle*; which he never
 suspected would so tamely have given themselves
 up: But that hope quickly vanished, upon the
 undoubted Intelligence of that Surrender, and the
 News that *Waller* was returned with a full Resolution
 to prosecute his design upon the West: to which,
 besides the encouragement of his two late Successes,

BOOK VIII. with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the Horse which belonged to the Earl of *Essex's* Army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the Auxiliary-Regiments of *London* to dismiss them.

Upon the News the King received of the great supply the Parliament had so suddenly sent to *Waller*, both from the Earl of *Essex* his Army, and from the City, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the Neighbour-Garrisons. And the Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, who had a fast Friendship with the Lord *Hopton*, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his Winter-Quarters, his Majesty was very willing he should, and cherished that disposition, being desirous that so great an Officer might be present in an Army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with Officers of great Experience. So the General, with such Volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Winchester*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in trouble for the loss of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of *Arundel*-Castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the General, and desired to receive his Orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute Command of the Troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him Company in all Expeditions, and to give him the best Assistance he was able; which the Lord *Hopton* was compelled to be contented with; nor

could there be a greater union and consent between two Friends: The General being ready to give his Advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving Orders accordingly. BOOK
VIII.

As soon as they were informed that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Farnham*, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Winchester* and *Farnham*, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in View, chose the ground upon which they meant the Battle should be Fought; of which *Waller*, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his Horse. The King's Army consisted of about five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; and *Waller* with Sir *William Balfour*, exceeded in Horse; but they were upon the matter equal in Foot; with this only advantage, that both his Horse and Foot were, as they were always, much better Armed; no Man wanting any Weapon Offensive, or Defensive, that was proper for him; and Sir *Arthur Haslerig's* Regiment of Cuirassiers, called the *Lobsters*, were so formidable, that the King's naked and unarmed Troops, among which few were better armed than with Swords, could not bear their impression.

The King's Horse never behaved themselves so ill, as that day. For the main Body of them, after they had sustained one fierce Charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance; and left their principal Officers The Battle at
Alresford,
where Sir W.
Waller had
the advantage
over the L.
Hopton.

B O O K to shift for themselves. The Foot behaved themselves
VIII. very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other Foot, but bore two or three Charges from the Horse with notable Courage, and without being broken; whilst those Horse which stood upon the Field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was sorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it necessary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he lost none, that Night to *Reading*: the Enemy being so scattered, that they had no mind to pursue; only *Waller* himself made haste to *Winchester*, where he thought, upon this Success, to have been immediately admitted into that Castle; which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so returned with taking revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the Insolence and Rapine imaginable

There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss *Waller* sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the Auxiliary - Regiments of *London* and *Kent*, to march farther; who, within three or four days, left him; and returned to their Habitations; with great Lamentation of their Friends who were missing. On the King's side, besides Common - Men, and many good Officers, there fell that day the Lord *John Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horse of that Army; and Sir *John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commissary-General of

the Horſe. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horſe that ſtayed with them, and did their duty; carried to *Reading*; and the next day to *Abington*, that they might be nearer to the Aſſiſtance of the beſt remedies by Phyſicians and Surgeons. But they lived only to the ſecond dreſſing of their wounds; which were very many upon both of them.

The former was a young Men of extraordinary hope, little more than one-and-twenty years of Age; who being of a more choleric and rough Nature, than the other Branches of that Illuſtrious and Princely Family, was not delighted with the ſoftneſſes of the Court, but had dedicated himſelf to the profeſſion of Arms, when he did not think the Scene ſhould have been in his own Country. His Courage was ſo ſignal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out-lived it; and he was ſo generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, Sir *John Smith*, had been trained up from his Youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an Ancient Roman - Catholic Family; and had long the Reputation of one of the beſt Officers of Horſe. As ſoon as the firſt Troubles appeared in *Scotland*, he betook himſelf to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own end, performed many ſignal Actions of Courage. The death of theſe two eminent Officers, made the Names of many who periſhed that day, the leſs inquired into and mentioned.

This Battle was Fought the 29th day of *March*: which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the meaſures, and

B O O K
VIII.

BOOK altered the whole scheme of the King's Counsels :
 VIII. For whereas before, he hoped to have entered the Field early, and to have acted an Offensive part; he now discerned, he was wholly to be upon the Defensive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the Men he had lost at *Alresford*, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his Army by a conjunction with Prince *Rupert*; who, he believed, would have returned in time, after his great Success at *Newark*, with a strong Body both of Horse and Foot, from *Shropshire*, *Cheeshire*, and *North-Wales*: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the Prince had scarce put the Garrison of *Newark* in order, and provided it to endure another Attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his Highness' departure (though indeed the shame of the defeat he had given that Party, and the rage among the Officers, and Soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of Men they had been terrified, and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole Body within few days) when he was earnestly pressed from the Earl of *Derby*, to come into *Lancashire* to relieve him, who was already Besieged in his own strong House at *Latham*, by a great Body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promises, " that within so many days after the Siege should be " raised, with any defeat to the Enemy, he would " advance his Highness' Levies with two thousand " Men, and supply him with a considerable Sum of " Money." And the Earl had likewise, by an Ex-

press, made the same instance to the King at *Oxford*; B O O K
VIII.
 from whence his Majesty sent his Permission, and
 Approbation to the Prince, before his departure from
Newark; hoping still that his Highness would be able
 to despatch that Service in *Lancashire*, and with the
 more notable recruits of Men in those parts, be able
 to return to *Oxford*, by the time that it would be neces-
 sary for his Majesty to take the Field. But within a
 short time, he was disappointed of that expectation;
 for before the Prince could finish his Expedition into
Lancashire (which he did with wonderful Gallantry;
 raised the Siege at *Latham* with a great execution upon
 the Enemy; and took two or three of their Garrisons
 obstinately defended; and therefore with the greater
 Slaughter) the Marquis of *New-Castle* was compelled
 to retire, with his whole Army, within the Walls of
Tork. He had been well able to have defended himself
 against the numerous Army of the *Scots*, and would
 have been glad to have been engaged with them, but
 he found he had a worse Enemy to deal with, as
 will appear.

From the time that the Ruling Party of the Parlia-
 ment discerned that their General, the Earl of *Essex*,
 would never serve their turn, or comply with all their
 desires, they resolved to have another Army apart,
 that should be more at their devotion; in the forming
 whereof, they would be sure to chuse such Officers,
 as would probably not only observe their Orders,
 but have the same inclinations with them. Their pre-
 tence was, "that there were so many disaffected Per-
 sons of the Nobility, and Principal Gentry, in the
 Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, that, if great care

The Associa-
 tion of several
 Counties for-
 med under
 the Earl of
 Manchester

R O O K " was not taken to prevent it, there might a Body
 VIII. " start up there for the King; which, upon the suc-
 " cess of the Marquis of *New-Castle*, whose Arms
 " then reached into *Lincolnshire*, might grow very
 " formidable." For prevention whereof, they had
 formed an Association between *Essex* (a County,
 upon the influence of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the
 power of his Clergy, they most confided in) *Cam-*
bridgshire, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntington*;
 in all which they had many Persons of whose entire
 Affections they were well assured; and, in most of
 them, there were few considerable Persons who with-
 ed them ill. Of this Association they had made the
 Earl of *Manchester* General, to be subject only to their
 own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of
Essex. Under Him, they chose *Oliver Cromwel* to
 Command their Horse; and many other Officers,
 who never intended to be subject again to the King,
 and avowed other Principles in Conscience and
 Religion, than had been before publicly declared.

To this General they gave Order, " to reside within
 " that Association; and to make Levies of Men, suffi-
 " cient to keep those Counties in Obedience:" for
 at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret
 Treaty made by Sir *Harry Vane* with the *Scots*, they
 were bound, as soon as the *Scots* should enter into
Yorkshire with their Army, that a Body of *English*
 Horse, Foot, and Cannon, should be ready to assist
 them, Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body
 apart: The *Scots* not then trusting their own great
 Numbers, as equal to Fight with the *English*. And
 from that time they were much more careful to raise,

and liberally supply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Manchester*, than for the other under the Earl of *Essex*. And now, according to their agreement, upon the *Scots* first entrance into *Yorkshire*, the Earl of *Manchester* had likewise Order to march with his whole Body thither; having, for the most part, a Committee of the Parliament, whereof Sir *Harry Vane* was one, with him; as there was another Committee of the *Scottish* Parliament always in that Army; there being also now a Committee of both Kingdoms residing at *London*, for the carrying on the War.

The Earl of Manchester is ordered with his Army to march into the North to join the Scots.

The Marquis of *New-Castle* being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon into *York*, with some Troops of Horse; and sent the Body of his Horse, under the Command of General *Goring*, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infect the Enemy. Then he sent an Express to the King, to inform him of the Condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he
" doubted not to defend himself in that Post, for the
" term of six Weeks, or two Months; in which time,
" he hoped, his Majesty would find some way to
" Relieve him." Upon receipt of this Letter, the King sent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, that "as soon as he
" had Relieved the Lord *Derby*, and recruited, and
" refreshed his Men, he should march, with what
" Expedition he could, to Relieve *York*; where being
" joined with the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army,
" there was hope they might Fight the Enemy: and
" his Majesty would put himself into as good a
" posture as he could to take the Field, without
" expecting the Prince."

BOOK

VIII.

The Queen
retires from
Oxford to
Exeter.

All these ill Accidents falling out successively in the Winter, the King's Condition appeared very sad; and the Queen being now with Child, it wrought upon her Majesty's mind very much; and disposed her to so many Fears and Apprehensions of her Safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great Forces raised, and in a readiness, " by the Parliament, much greater than they yet ever " had been;" which was very true; and " that they " resolved, as soon as the Season was ripe, to march " all to *Oxford*." She could not endure to think of being Besieged; and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there, but to go into the West; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to Embark for *France*. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his Majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of Health, that all Civility and Reason obliged every Body to submit. So, about the beginning of *April*, she begun her Journey from *Oxford* to the West; and, by moderate Journies, came well to *Exeter*; where she intended to stay, till she was delivered; for she was within little more than one Month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any Alarm, she recovered her Spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of *April*, when it concerned the King with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with those vast Numbers of Men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would
be

be possible for his Majesty to do, in those Exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The Intelligence, that *Waller* was still designed for the Western Expedition, made the King appoint his whole Army to be drawn together to a Rendezvous at *Marlborough*; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the Body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand Foot, and above four thousand Horse. There that Body remained for some weeks, to watch, and intend *Waller's* Motion, and to Fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting *Reading*, and some other Garrisons, proposed, for the increasing the Field-Forces: yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament-Armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the King returned to *Oxford*, where, upon the desire of the Members of Parliament who had been called thither, and done all the Service they could for the King, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several Counties, satisfy the People of the King's importunate desire of Peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the Parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his Majesty's Assistance. They were to meet there again in the Month of *October* following.

Then, that his Majesty might draw most of the Soldiers of that Garrison with him out of *Oxford*, when he should take the Field, that City was persuaded to complete the Regiment they had begun to form, under the Command of a Colonel whom the

B O O K King had recommended to them; which they did
VIII. raise to the Number of a thousand Men. There were likewise two other Regiments raised of Gentlemen and their Servants, and of the Scholars of the several Colleges and Halls of the University; all which Regiments did Duty there punctually, from the time that the King went into the Field, till he returned again to *Oxford*; and all the Lords declared, "that upon any emergent occasion, they would mount their Servants upon their Horses, to make a good Troop for a sudden Service;" which they made good; and thereby, that Summer, performed two or three very considerable and important Actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the Intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his Quarters, that *Waller* had laid aside his Western-March; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both His, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any Action till they should be both complete in greater Numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the King's Army removed from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*; where they remained near a Month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the Enemy, and to assist the Garrisons of *Reading*, or *Wallingford*, or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

There had been several deliberations in the Council of War, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the Garrisons when the King should take the Field; and the King himself was

irresolute upon those Debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring His advice; who, after he had returned Answers, and received Replies, made a hasty journey to *Oxford* from *Chester*, to wait upon his Majesty. And it was then positively resolved, "that the Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading*, and *Banbury*, should be reinforced, and strengthened with all the Foot; that a good Body of Horse should remain about *Oxford*, and the rest should be sent in the West to Prince *Maurice*." If this Counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good Success: Both Armies of the Enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a Siege against any place so well provided, and resolved; and it would have been equally unconsellable to have marched to any distance, and have left such an Enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any March they could have made.

But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the King, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those Councils, that resolutions, taken upon full Debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter Debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: Some Men being in their Natures irresolute, and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own

B O O K proposals; others being positive, and not to be
VIII. altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonable soever, or what alterations soever there were in the Affairs. And the King himself frequently considered more the Person who spoke, as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the Counsel itself that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him so much as that of other Men.

The Persons
 with whom
 the King
 consulted in
 his Military
 Affairs at
 this time.

The Persons with whom he only consulted in his Martial Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (besides Prince *Rupert*, who was at this time absent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horse; the Lord *Hopton*, who usually Commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now present; Sir *Jacob Astley*, who was Major-General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State; and Sir *John Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls: for none of the Privy-Council, those two only excepted, were called to those Consultations; though some of them were still advised with, for the better Execution, or Prosecution, of what was then and there resolved.

The General, though he had been, without doubt, a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was still a Man of unquestionable Courage and Integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his Understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be

imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Compliance, and usually delivered that as His opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

Wilmot was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleasant Wit, and an ill Understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he considered that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any Consideration. He had, from the beginning of the War, been very averse to any advice of the Privy-Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Success of the War) should entirely be governed and conducted by the Soldiers, and Men of War; and that no other Counsellors should have any Credit with his Majesty. Whilst Prince *Rupert* was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather Personal Animosity against him, made any thing that *Wilmot* said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted: and the King himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his Person, or esteem of his Parts. But now, by the Prince's absence, and his being the second Man in the Contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvelously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good Fellowship (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himself so popular with all

B O O K the Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, that
VIII. he had, in truth, a very great Interest; which he desired might appear to the King, that he might have the more Interest in Him. He was positive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most Contradicted by the two Privy-Counsellors, the Secretary. and the Master of the Rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest Influence upon the King, he used all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the Officers of the Army, by telling them, what they had said in Council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the Times of Joillity, perswaded the old General to believe that they invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Business of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

The Lord *Hopton* was a Man Superior to any Temptation, and abhorred enough the licence, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good Understanding, a clear Courage, an Industry not to be tired, and a Generosity that was not to be exhausted; a Virtue that none of the rest had: but in the Debates concerning the War, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief; which rendered him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supreme Command in an Army.

Sir *Jacob Ashley* was an honest, brave, plain Man, and as fit for the Office he exercised, of Major-General of the Foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving Orders, as the occasions required, and most cheerful, and present in any Action. In Council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleased with the long Speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than informed his Understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the Debates, and what he was himself to Do, than enlarged them by his own Discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two Privy-Counsellors, though they were of the most different Natures and Constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their Opinions; and being, in their parts, much Superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the King's Judgment to like what they approved: yet one of them, who had in those Cases the Ascendant over the other, had that Excess of Fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and resolving the grounds of the Resolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggestions of other Men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused Orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniences.

This unsteadiness in Counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former Determination concerning the Garrisons, to be little considered. The King's Army had lain above three Weeks at, and about *Newbury*; in which time their Numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon

BOOK
VIII.

Reading
quitted by the
King's Forces.

their Muster near *Marlborough*, when the King was present. When it was known that both the Parliament Armies were marched out of *London*; That under *Essex* to *Windſor*; and That of *Waller*, to the parts between *Hertford-Bridge*, and *Baſing*, without any purpose of going farther West; the King's Army marched to *Reading*; and in three days, his Majesty being present, they flighted and demolished all the works of that Garrison: And then, which was about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of those Soldiers, which increased the Army five-and-twenty hundred old Soldiers more, very well Officered, the Army retired to the Quarters about *Oxford*, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to fight with one of the Enemy's Armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

The King returned to *Oxford*, and resolved to stay there till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For, since the Conjunction with the *Scottish* Commissioners in one Council, for the carrying on the War, little business was brought to be Consulted in either of the Houses; and there was much greater Secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of Trust, but they whose Affections were known to concur to the most desperate Counsels. So that the Designs were still entirely formed, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of *Essex*; nor was more communicated at a Time than was necessary for the present Execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The Intention was, "that the two Armies, which

" marched out together, should afterward be distinct;
 " and should only keep together, till it appeared what
 " Course the King meant to take; and if he stayed
 " in *Oxford*, it would be fit for both to be in the Siege;
 " the Circumvallation being very great, and to be
 " divided in many places by the River; which would
 " keep both Armies still atunder under their several
 " Officers." But, if the King marched out, which
 they might reasonably presume he would, then the
 purpose was, " that the Earl of *Essex* should follow
 " the King, wherever he went;" which, they imagin-
 ed, would be Northward; " and that *Waller* should
 " march into the West, and subdue That." So that,
 having so substantially provided for the North, by
 the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Manchester*; and having an
 Army under the Earl of *Essex*, much Superior in
 Number to any the King could be attended with; and
 the third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the West; they
 promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they
 should make an End of the War that Summer.

It was about the tenth of *May*, that the Earl of *Essex*
 and Sir *William Waller* marched out of *London*, with
 both their Armies; and the very next day after the
 King's Army had quitted *Reading*, the Earl of *Essex*,
 from *Windſor*, sent Forces to possess it; and recom-
 mended it to the City of *London*, to provide both
 Men, and all other things necessary for the keeping
 it; which the Memory of what they had suffered for
 the two past years, by being without it, easily disposed
 them to do. By this means, the Earl had the Oppor-
 tunity to join with *Waller's* Army when he should
 think fit; which before they could not do with

B O O K Convenience, or Security. Nor did they ever after
VIII. join in one Body, but kept at a fit Distance, to be able, if there were Occasion, to help each other.

The Earl of *Essex's* Army consisted of all his old Troops, which had Wintered about *St. Albans*, and in *Befordshire*; and being now increased with four Regiments of the Trained-bands, and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to less than ten thousand Horse and Foot. *Waller* had likewise received a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Essex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King's Army retired from *Reading*, the Horse Quartered about *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Resolution to quit, or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemies Advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the East-side, where, besides some indifferent Fortifications, they had the advantage of the River, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the West-side from *Wantage*, and *Farrington*; they would draw out and Fight, if the Enemy were not by much Superior in Number; and, in that Case, they would retire with the whole Army to *Oxford*.

Being satisfied with this Resolution, they lay in that quiet Posture, without making the least Impression upon the Enemy, by beating up his Quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making Incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill Humor, and Negligence of *Wilmot*. The Earl of *Essex* advanced with his Army towards *Abingdon*; and upon the East-part of

the Town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their Defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the General, early the next Morning, marched with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horse being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat: and all this was done before his Majesty had the least notice, or suspicion of it. As soon as his Majesty was informed of it by Sir *Charles Blunt*, the Scout-Master-General, whom the General had sent to acquaint the King with the resolution, he sent Sir *Charles Blunt* back to the General, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the Town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his Majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the Messenger could return, the Army was within sight of *Oxford*, and so the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horse Quartered in the Villages about the Town.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the King's infinite Trouble, quitted; whither a Party of *Essex's* Army came the same Night; and the next day, himself with all his Foot entered the Town; his Horse being Quartered about it. He then called *Waller* to bring up his Army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head-Quarter at *Wantage*: and so, without the striking one Blow, they got the Possession of *Reading*, *Abingdon*; and were Masters of all *Berkshire*; and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horse and Foot on the North-side of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to consider, how to keep

B O O K
VIII.

Abingdon
quitted by the
King's Forces.

Possessed by
the Earl of
Essex.

BOOK VIII. *Oxford* itself from being Besieged, and the King from being inclosed in it.

This was the deplorable Condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the Month of *May*; infomuch that it was generally reported at *London*, "that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Prisoner;" and others more Confidently gave it out, "that his Majesty resolved to come to *London*:" of which the Parliament was not without some Apprehension, though not so much, as of the King's putting himself into the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, and into his Protection; which They could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the Committee of both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to the General.

My Lord.

"We are credibly informed, that his Majesty intends to come for *London*. We desire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform yourself of the same; and if you think that his Majesty intends at all to come to the Armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the Houses shall give Direction."

So much Jealousy they had of the Earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the King could do; who could not entertain any reasonable Expectation of Increase, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the West; Prince *Rupert* being then in his march into *Lancashire*, for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby* (besieged in his Castle of *Latham*) and Prince *Maurice* being still engaged in the unfortunate

Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, a little Fisher-Town; which, after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this Perplexity, the King sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol*, to provide better for the Security of that important City; where he yet knew *Waller* had many Friends; and himself resolved to stay at *Oxford*, till he saw how the two Armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might Fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two Armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the Advantages they had, or improving the Confusion, and Distraction, which the King's Forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given so to Quarter the King's Army, that it might keep the Rebels from passing over either of the Rivers, *Cherwel*, or *Ifis*, which run on the East and West-sides of the City; the Foot being, for the most part, Quartered towards the *Cherwel*, and the Horse, with some Dragoons, near the *Ifis*.

In this posture all the Armies lay quiet, and without Action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within *Oxford*, and of the Troops without; which had not yet recovered their dislike of their having quitted *Abingdon*, and thereby of being so straitened in their Quarters. Some of *Waller's* Forces attempted to pass the *Ifis* at *Newbridge*, but were repulsed by the King's Dragoons. But the next day *Essex*, with his whole Army, got

B O O K over the *Thames* at *Sanford-Ferry*, and marched to
VIII. *Islip*, where he made his Quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon *Bullington-Green*, that the City might take a full view of his Army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small Party of Horse, came within Cannon-shot; and little Parties of Horse came very near the Ports, and had light Skirmishes with some of the King's Horse, without any great hurt on either side.

The next Morning, a strong Party of the Earl's Army endeavoured to pass over the *Cherwel*, at *Gosworth-Bridge*; but were repulsed by the Musqueteers with very considerable loss; and so retired to their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged, with his whole Army, on the East-side of the River *Cherwel*, whereby he was disabled to give, or receive any speedy Assistance to, or from *Waller*; the King resolved to attempt the repossessing himself of *Abingdon*, and to take the opportunity to Fight with *Waller* singly, before he could be relieved from the other Army. In order to this, all the Foot were in the Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Passes, and marched through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of signal Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any bold Enterprize, advanced, with a Party of one hundred and fifty Horse, to the Town itself; where there were a thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse of *Waller's* Army; and entered the same, and killed many, and took some Prisoners: but upon the Alarm, he was so overpowered, that his Prisoners escaped, though he killed the Chief-Commander, and made his Retreat

good, with the loss only of two Officers, and as many Common-Soldiers; and so, both the attempt upon *Abingdon* was given over, and the design of Fighting *Waller* laid aside; and the Army returned again to their old Post, on the North-side of *Oxford*. B O O K VIII.

Sir *Jacob Astley* undertook the Command himself at *Gosworth-Bridge*, where he perceived the Earl intended to force his Passage; and presently cast up Breast-works, and made a Redoubt for the defence of his Men, and Repulsed the Enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their Assault two or three days together, and planted Cannon to facilitate their Passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many Men in the Attempt. On the other side, *Waller's* Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge so well defended; but overpowering those Guards, and having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they got that Passage over the River *Isis*; by which they might have brought over all their Army; and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the King to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in *Oxford*. *Waller* lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand Horse and Foot, by *Newbridge*: the Van whereof Quartered at *Ensam*, and, the King's Foot being drawn off from *Gosworth-Bridge*, *Essex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cherwel*; and Quartered that Night at *Blechingdon*; many of his Horse advancing to *Woodstock*; so that the King seemed to them to be perfectly shut in

B O O K between them; and to his own People, his Condition
VIII. seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he
 used to advise in his most Secret Affairs, and whose
 Fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to
 render himself, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Essex*;
 which his Majesty rejected with great indignation;
 yet had the goodness to conceal the Name of the Pro-
 poser; and said, "that possibly he might be found
 "in the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, but he would be
 "dead first." Word was given, "for all the Horse to
 "be together," at such an hour, to expect Orders;
 and a good Body of Foot with Cannon, marched
 through the Town towards *Abingdon*: by which, it
 was concluded, that both Armies would be amused,
 and *Waller* induced to draw back over *Newbridge*:
 and, as soon as it was Evening, the Foot, and Can-
 non, returned to their old Post on the North-side.

The King resolved, for the encouragement of the
 Lords of the Council, and the Persons of Quality who
 were in *Oxford*, to leave his Son the Duke of *York*
 there; and promised, if they should be Besieged, "to
 "do all he could to Relieve them, before they should
 "be reduced to Extremity." He appointed then;
 "that two thousand and five hundred choice Mus-
 "queteers should be drawn out of the whole Foot,
 "under the Command of Sir *Jacob Astley*, and four
 "experienced Colonels; all which should, without
 "Colors, repair to the place where the Horse attend-
 "ed to receive Orders, and that the rest of the Foot
 "should remain together on the North-side, and se-
 "be applied to the defence of *Oxford*, if it should be
 "Besieged."

All

All things being in this order, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about nine of the Clock at Night, the King, with the Prince, and those Lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of Quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind; marched out of the North-Port, attended by his own Troop, to the place where the Horse, and Commanded Foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hanborough*, some Miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King rested not till the Afternoon, when he found himself at *Burford*; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery: so that he was content to refresh his Men there; and supped himself; yet was not without Apprehension that he might be followed by a Body of the Enemies Horse; and therefore, about nine of the Clock, he continued his March from *Burford* over the *Cotswold*, and by Midnight reached *Burton* upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied Troops, more rest and refreshment.

The Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Foot marched again through *Oxford*, as if they meant to go to *Abingdon*, to continue that Amusement which the day before had prevailed with *Waller*, to send many of his Men back, and to delay his own Advance; and likewise, that Quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by Noon. The Earl of *Essex* had that Morning, from *Blechingdon*,

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sent some Horse to take a view of *Oxford*; and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the Colors standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was still there, and as much in his power as ever. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of his Majesty's Motion, and sent a good Body of Horse to follow him, and to retard his March, till he could come up: and his Horse made such haste, that they found in *Burford* some of the straggling Soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of Drink, had stayed behind their Fellows. The Earl of *Essex* followed likewise with his Army, and Quartered at *Chippen-Norton*; and *Waller's* Horse were as far as *Broadway*, when the King had reached *Evesham*; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his Garrison at *Tewkesbury* had been, the Night before, surprised by a strong Party from *Glocester*; the Chief Officers being killed, and the rest taken Prisoners; most of the Common-Soldiers making their escape, and coming to *Evesham*. But, upon Intelligence that both Armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the River *Avon* about *Stratford*, or some other place, and so get between the King and *Worcester*, his Majesty changed his purpose of staying at *Evesham*, and presently marched to *Worcester*; having given order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Parshore*; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the Troops were passed, that, by the sudden falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges*, of the Prince's Regiment, a Man of good Courage and Conduct, with two or three other Officers of Horse, and about twenty Common-Men, fell unfortunately into the *Avon*, and were drowned.

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VIII.

The Earl of
Essex marches
towards the
West:

"The Earl of *Essex*, when he saw the King was got full two days March before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their Power, resolved to pursue him no farther, but to Consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose called a Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*; where it was resolved, "that *Waller*, who had the lighter Ordnance, "and the less Carriages, should have such an addition "of Forces, as *Massey*, the Governor of *Glocester*, "should be able to furnish him with; and so should "pursue and follow the King, wheresoever he should "go; and that the Earl of *Essex*, who had the greater "Ordnance, and the heavier Carriages, should prosecute the other Design of Relieving *Lyne*, and "reducing the West to the Obedience of the "Parliament."

Waller opposed this resolution all he could; and urged some Order, and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms in the point; and, "that the "West was assigned to him, as his Province, when "the two Armies should think fit to sever from each "other." However, *Essex* gave him positive Orders, as his General, "to march according to the Advice "of the Council of War;" which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous Complaints to the Parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at *Westminster*, were so incensed against the Earl of *Essex*, that they writ a very angry, and imperious Letter to him, in which they reproached him, "for not submitting to the Directions which they had given;" and required him "to follow their former Directions, and

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“ to suffer *Waller* to attend the Service of the West.” Which Letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days Westward. But the Earl chose rather to Answer their Letter, than to Obey their Order; and writ to them, “ that their Directions “ had been contrary to the Discipline of War, and to “ Reason; and that, if he should now return, it would “ be a great encouragement to the Enemy in all places; and Subscribed his Letter, Your Innocent,” “ though suspected Servant, *Essex*,” and then prosecuted his Resolution, and continued his march for the West.

Waller towards *Worcester*, after the King.

When *Waller* found there was no remedy, he Obeyed his Orders with much Diligence and Vigor; and prosecuted his march towards *Worcester*, where his Majesty then was; and, in his way, persuaded, rather than forced, the Garrison of *Sudely*-Castle, the strong House of the Lord *Chandois*, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that Castle was a young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for two years served the King very bravely in the Head of a Regiment of Horse which himself had raised at his own Charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the Fatigue, and having spent most of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King, under pretence of Travel; but making *London* his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place; which he enjoyed, without considering the Issue of the War, or showing any Inclination to the Parliament; nor did he, in any degree contribute to the delivery of his House; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the Government of Sir *William Morton*, a

Gentleman of the long Robe; who, in the beginning of the War, cast off his Gown, as many other Gallant Men of that Profession of the Law did, and served as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of Horse under the Lord *Chandois*; and had given so frequent Testimony of signal Courage in several Actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the Pistol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never suspected; and his Fidelity as little questioned: And after many years of Imprisonment, sustained with great Firmness and Constancy, he lived to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King; who made him first a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by Robbing on the High-way. He was unfortunate, though without Fault, in the giving up that Castle in so unseasonable a Conjunction; which was done by the Faction and Artifice of an Officer within, who had found means to go out to *Waller*, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the Garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, it was given up; and the Governor made Prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the War. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition marched to *Evesham*; where the evil Inhabitants received him willingly; and had, as soon as the King left them, repaired their Bridge over the *Avon*, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

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The King rested some days at *Worcester*, whereby he very much refreshed his Troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the Loyalty of that good Town, and the Affection of the Gentry of that Country, who retired for their Security, he procured both Shoes and Stockings, and Money for his Soldiers: and when, upon good Information, *Waller* was marched out of *Evesham* with his whole Army towards *Worcester*, which he would probably Besiege, the King resolved not to be found there; and therefore, having left that City well provided, and in good heart, his Majesty removed with his little Army to *Bewdly*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between Him and the Enemy; the Foot being Quartered together at *Bewdly*, and the Horse by the side of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The posture in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majesty intended his Course to *Shrewsbury*, and to the more Northern-Parts. And it is true, that, without any such Resolution, Orders were sent to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Ludlow*, and other Garrisons, “that they should make all possible Provisions of
“Corn, and other Victual; which they should cause,
“in great quantities, to be brought thither;” which confirmed *Waller* in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Shrewsbury* than He. But, God knows, the King was without any other Design, than to avoid the Enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of Foot, and without Cannon, propose reasonably to Fight a Battle: and he had too many good Reasons against going to either of those

places, or to those parts, which *Waller* conceived him inclined to; and his Majesty might well assume the Complaint, and Expression of King *David*, "that he *was hunted as a Partridge upon the Mountains*;" and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest. B O O K
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In this Perplexity, it looked like the Bounty of Providence, that *Waller* was advanced so far: upon which, the King took a sudden Resolution, to return with all Expedition to *Worcester*, and to make haste to *Evesham*; where, having broke the Bridge, and so left the River of *Avon* at his back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to join with that part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*; and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and to prosecute any other Design. Upon this good Resolution, care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth*, and *Worcester*, that the Foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Infomuch, that the next day, being Embarked early in the Morning, the Foot arrived so soon at *Worcester*, that they might very well have marched that Night to *Evesham*, but that many of the Horse, which were Quartered beyond *Bewdley* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both Horse and Foot should remain that Night together at *Worcester*; which they did accordingly.

The next Morning, the King found no cause to alter any thing in his former Resolution; and received good Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any

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thing of his motion, remained still in his old Quarters; whereupon he marched very fast to *Evesham*; nor would he stay there; but gave Order for the Horse and Foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay two hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of *Waller*; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of Shoes for the use of the Soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and performed. Then the Army marched that Night to *Broadway*, where they Quartered; and very early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Camden*; and there they had time to breathe, and to look with pleasure on the places where they had passed through; having now left *Waller*, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even in that Season of the year, the ways in that Vale were very deep.

Now the King sent Colonel *Fielding*, and lest he might miscarry (for both from *Glocester*, *Tewkesbury*, and *Sudely*-Castle, the Enemy had many Scouts abroad) two or three other Messengers, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know of his happy Return; and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford*; and the next, at *Whitney*; where he did expect, that all his Foot, with their Colors and Cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that, on *Thursday* the twentieth of *June*, which was within seventeen days after he had left *Oxford* in that disconsolate Condition, the King found himself in the head of his Army, from which he had been so severed, after so many Accidents

and melancholic Perplexities, to which Majesty had been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that Peregrination be too particularly, and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great Argument of acknowledging God's good Providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a Brand out of the Fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the Rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to Posterity, to see the most exact Relation of an Action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to abide *Waller*, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline Fighting with his Majesty.

In the short time the King had been absent, the Garrison at *Oxford* was not idle. When the King in the Spring had prepared for the Field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the Garrison at *Reading*, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser Garrisons, at a less distance from *Oxford*; and thereupon the Garrison at *Bosstal*-House, reputed a strong place, upon the Edge of *Oxfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire*, was appointed to demolish the Works and Fortifications, and to retire, and join with the Army: which was no sooner done, but the Garrison at *Aylesbury*, that had felt the Effects of the other's ill Neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a Garrison into it; which, after the King had left *Oxford*, and both the Armies of *Essex* and *Waller*, were gone from before it, gave

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little less trouble to that City, and obstructed the Provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the Armies had done. This brought great Complaints and Clamor from the Country, and from the Town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an Excuse for their not complying with the Commands they sent out, for Laborers to work upon the Fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the Town. When both Armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the King, that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being Besieged, the Lords considered of a Remedy to apply to this Evil from *Hospital-House*; and receiving encouragement from Colonel Gage (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large) who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a Party of Commanded Men of the Foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of Cannon, and a Troop of Horse of the Town, to obey his Orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the Church, and the Out-Houses, and then battered the House itself with his Cannon; which they within, would not long endure; but desired a Parley. Upon which the House was rendered, with the Ammunition, one piece of Ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of Victual, whereof they had plenty for Horse and Man; and had Liberty given them to go away with their Arms, and Horses; very easy Conditions for so strong a Post; which was obtained with the loss of one

inferior Officer, and two or three Common-Men. Here the Colonel left a Garrison, that did not only defend *Oxford* from those mischievous Incursions, but did very near support itself, by the Contribution it drew from *Buckinghamshire*, besides the Prey it frequently took from the very Neighbourhood of *Aylesbury*. B O O K
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The Earl of *Essex*, by slow and easy Marches, and without any Opposition or Trouble, entered into *Dorsetshire*; and by his great Civility, and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Discipline in his Army, wrought very much upon the People. Infomuch that his Forces rather increased, than diminished; which had, during his being before *Oxford*, been much lessened, not only by the Numbers which were killed and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp Encounters continued at *Gosworth-Bridge*. It can hardly be imagined, how great a Difference there was in the humor, disposition, and manner of the Army under *Essex*, and the other under *Waller*, in their behaviour and humanity towards the People; and, consequently, in the Reception they found among them; the demeanour, and carriage of those under *Waller* being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the People, in all places, were not without some Affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his Father, had been always universally popular.

When he came to *Blandford*, he had a great mind to make himself Master of *Weymouth*, if he could compass it without engaging his Army before it;

■ ■ ■ ■ which he resolved Not to do; however it was little
 VIII. out of his way to pass near it. Colonel *Ashburnham*,
 then Governor of *Weymouth*, was made choice of for
 that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage,
 and Dexterity; and, to make way for him, Sir *Anthony*
Ashley Cooper had been, the Year before, removed
 from that Charge; and was thereby so much disob-
 liged, that he quitted the King's Party, and gave
 himself up, Body and Soul, to the Service of the
 Parliament, with an implacable Animosity against
 the Royal Interest. The Colonel had been intent upon
 other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the
 Fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy
 an Army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the
 Approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter,
 because the Governor afterwards pressed to have the
 whole examined before a Council of War, where he
 produced a Warrant, under the hand of Prince
Maurice, "that, the Town being untenable, he
 " should, upon the advance of the Earl of *Essex*, put
 " a sufficient strength into *Portland-Castle*, and retire
 " thither;" which he had done; and was, by the
 Council of War, absolved from any Crime. Yet,
 the truth is, however absolved, he lost Reputation
 by it; and was thought to have left the Town too
 soon, though he meant to have returned again, after
 he had visited *Portland*. But in the mean time the
 Townsmen mutinied, and sent to the Earl of *Essex*
 when he was near the Town; whereupon he came
 thither; which he would not otherwise have done;
 and gave the Garrison leave to march with their Arms
 to Prince *Maurice*; and so became Master of *Wey-*

Weymouth
 delivered to
 the Earl of
Essex.

mouth; and leaving Men enough out of the Country to defend it, without any delay, he prosecuted his march to *Lyme*; from whence Prince *Maurice*, upon the news of the loss of *Weymouth*, had retired with haste enough towards *Exeter*, with a Body of full five-and-twenty hundred Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse; after he had put a Garrison of five hundred Men into *Wareham*, and with some loss of Reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

As soon as the King had joined his Army at *Whitney* which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred Foot, and very near four thousand Horse, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own Quarters, which had been too much wasted by Friends and Enemies; but to visit the Enemy's Country; and so, the next day, he marched towards *Buckingham*, where he would stay; and expect *Waller* (of whose motion he yet heard nothing) and from whence, if he appeared not, his Majesty might enter into the Associated Counties, and so proceed Northward, if, upon Intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the King staid at *Buckingham*, and thought himself now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy (his Troops, every day bringing in store of Provisions, and, being now in a Country where they were not expected; met with many Cart-loads of Wine, Grocery, and Tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from *London* to *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; all which were very welcome to *Buckingham*) a new, and unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill

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*Lyme re-
lieved by
him.*

B O O K humor, and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* continued still fullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an Animosity against the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, that he persuaded many Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a Petition to the King, "that those
" two Counsellors might be excluded, and be no
" more present in Councils of War; which they
" promised to do."

Waller remained still in *Worcestershire*; upon which it was again Consulted, what the King was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into the Associated Counties;" others, "to lose no time in
" endeavouring to join with Prince *Rupert*." *Wilmot*, without ever communicating it with the King, positively advised, "that they might presently
" march towards *London*, and now both their
" Generals, and Armies were far from them, make
" trial what the true affection of the City was;
" and that, when the Army was marched as far as
" *St. Albans*, the King should send such a gracious
" Message both to the Parliament; and City, as
" was most like to prevail upon them;" and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of proceeding
" would be very much approved of by the Army."
This extravagant motion, with all the Circumstances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wished them, "that such a Message
" should be prepared, and then that he would Com-

“ municate both that, and what concerned his march
 “ towards *London*, to the Lords of the Council at
 “ *Oxford*; that in so weighty an affair he might re-
 “ ceive Their Counsel.” To that purpose the Lord
Digby, and the Master of the Rolls, were sent to
Oxford; who, after two days, returned without any
 Approbation of the march, or the Message by the
 Lords. But all that Intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure
 Intelligence, “that *Waller* had left *Worcestershire*, and
 “ marched, with what speed he could, to find his
 “ Majesty; which gave new Argument of Debate.”

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When the King had so dexterously deceived, and
 eluded him by his quick march to and from *Worcester*,
Waller, who had not timely Information of it, and
 less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire
 his Army with long marches in hope to overtake
 him; but first showed it at the Walls of *Worcester*, to
 terrify that City, which had contemned his power a
 year before, when it was not so well able to resist it.
 But he quickly discerned he could do no good there:
 then he marched towards *Glocester*, having sent to
 Colonel *Massey* to send him some Men out of *Glocester*;
 which he, being a Creature of *Essex's*, refused to do.
 Upon this Denial, he marched into *Warwickshire*; and
 appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton-Field*, the place
 where the first Battle was fought. There he received
 an addition of seven Troops of Horse, and about six
 hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and from *Coventry*,
 with eleven pieces of Ordnance. With this Recruit
 he marched confidently towards the King; of which
 his Majesty being informed, that he might the sooner
 meet him, he marched with his Army to *Brackly*,

B O O K when *Waller* was near *Banbury*; and the Armies
VIII. coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair Sun-
 shine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning,
 both endeavoured to possess a piece of Ground they
 well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer
 to *Waller*, and the King passing his whole Army
 through the Town of *Banbury*, before it could come
 to it, *Waller* had first his Men upon it in good Order
 of Battle, before the King could reach thither: so that
 the King lay that Night in the Field, half a mile East
 of *Banbury*, the River of *Cherwel* being between the
 two Armies.

The Fight at
 Cropredy-
 Bridge.

The King resolved to make *Waller* draw off from
 that Advantage-ground, where he had stood two
 days; and in order thereunto, marched away, as if he
 would enter further into *Northamptonshire*: and he
 no sooner moved, but *Waller* likewise drew off from
 his ground, and coasted on the other side of the
 River, but at such a distance, that it was thought he
 had no mind to be engaged. The Van of the King's
 Army was led by the General, and *Wilmot*: in the
 Body was the King, and the Prince, and the Rear
 consisted of one thousand commanded Foot, under
 Colonel *Thelwell*, with the Earl of *Northampton's*
 and the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigades of Horse. And,
 that the Enemy might not be able to take any advan-
 tage, a Party of Dragoons was sent to keep *Cropredy*-
 Bridge, until the Army passed beyond it. The Army
 marching in this order, Intelligence was brought to
 the King, " that there was a Body of three hundred
 " Horse, within less than two miles of the Van of the
 " Army, that marched to join with *Waller*; and that
 " might

" might be easily cut off, if the Army mended their
 " pace." Whereupon, Orders were sent to the fore-
 most Horse, " that they should move faster, the Van
 and the Middle having the same Directions, without
 any notice given to the Rear." *Waller* quickly dis-
 covered the great distance that was suddenly grown
 between the King's Body and his Rear, and presently
 advanced with fifteen hundred Horse, one thousand
 Foot, and eleven pieces of Cannon to *Croopedy-*
Bridge, which were quickly too strong for the Dra-
 goons that were left to keep it, and which made a
 very faint Resistance: so that this Party advanced
 above half a mile, pursuing their Design of cutting off
 the King's Rear, before they should be able to get to
 the Body of the Army. To facilitate this Execution,
 he had sent one thousand Horse more, to pass over at
 a Ford a mile below *Croopedy-Bridge*, and to fall upon
 the Rear of all, Timely notice being given of this to
 the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Di-
 vision, and " of the Enemy's having passed at *Croopedy*
 " (which was confirmed by the running of the
 " Horse, and Scattered Foot) and that there stood
 " two Bodies of Horse without moving, and faced
 " the Army:" Thereupon the Earl presently drew
 up his Brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass,
 where he discerned a great Body of the Rebels Horse
 drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his Rear.
 It was no time to expect Orders; but the Earl, led by
 his own great Spirit, Charged presently that Body
 with great fury, which sustained it not with equal
 Courage; losing a Cornet, and many Prisoners.

This Alarm had quickly reached the King, who
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B O O K sent to the Van to return, and himself drew up those
VIII. about him, to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he saw the Enemy preparing for a second Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King Commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, a Valiant young Gentleman, who Commanded his own Guard, "to make haste to
 " the Assistance of the Rear; and, in his way, to
 " Charge those two Bodies of Horse which faced his
 " Majesty." He, with above a hundred of Gallant and Stout Gentlemen, returned instantly over the Bridge, and made haste towards those two Bodies of Horse; who, seeing their fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the presence of this Troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their Flight; which very much facilitated the Defeat, that quickly ensued.

The Earl of *Cleveland*, after his short Encounter, made a stand under a great Ash (where the King had but half an hour before stayed and dined) not understanding what the Enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a Body of their Horse of sixteen Cornets, and as many Colors of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Musquet-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which He likewise did upon Them with notable Vigor; and having stood their Musquet and Carabine-shot, he Charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horse and Foot, and Chased them with good execution beyond their Cannon: all

which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two Bar- ricadoes of Wood, which were drawn upon Wheels, and in each seven small Brass and Leather-Guns, charged with Case-shot; most of their Cannoneers were killed, and the General of their Ordnance taken Prisoner. This Man, one *Weemes*, a *Scots-man*, had been as much obliged by the King, as a Man of His Condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made Master-Gunner of *England*, with a Pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his Life (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the *English Nation*) and having never done the King the least Service, he took the first opportunity to Disserve him; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the Rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent Disloyalty, to be General of the Ordnance in the Army of Sir *William Waller*; who was very much advised by him in all matters of Importance. Besides *Weemes*, there was taken Prisoner *Baker*, Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir *William Waller's* own Regiment, and five or six Lieutenant-Colonels, and Captains, of as good Names as were amongst them; with many Lieutenants, Ensigns, and Cornets, Quarter-masters; and above one hundred Common-Soldiers; many more being slain in the Charge. The Earl pursued them as far as the Bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their Dragoons, which were placed there to make good their Retreat: all which fled with them, or before. And so the Earl having cleared that side of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having

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lost, in this notable action, two Colonels, Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raised, and armed their Regiments at their own Charge, who were both killed dead upon the place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above fourteen Common-Soldiers.

At the same time, the Earl of *Northampton* discovered that Party of the Enemies Horse, which had found a passage over the River a Mile below, to follow him in the Rear; and presently faced about with those Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which, without enduring the Charge, the whole Body betook themselves to Flight, and got over the Pass they had so newly been acquainted with; with little loss, because they prevented the Danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their Flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, seeing there was no Enemy left on that side, drew up in a large Field opposite to the Bridge; where he stood, whilst the Cannon, on the other side, played upon him, until his Majesty and the rest of the Army passed by them, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Wilscot*. *Waller* instantly quitted *Cropredy*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high grounds, which are between *Cropredy* and *Hanwell*, opposite to the King's Quarters about a Mile; the River of *Cherwel*, and some low grounds, being between both Armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the Clock in the After-

noon, the Weather very fair, and very warm (it being the 29th day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majesty resolved to prosecute his good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, since They would not come to Him: and to that purpose, sent two good Parties, to make way for him to pass both at *Cropredy-Bridge*, and the other pass a Mile below; over which the Enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To *Cropredy* they sent such strong Bodies of Foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the King thither could make no Impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the Night came, and severed them; all Parties being tired with the duty of the Day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a Mile below, after a short Resistance, gained it, and a Mill adjoining; where, after they had killed some, they took the rest Prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves, that, and the next Day, but did the Enemy much hurt; expecting still that their Fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

Here the King was prevailed with to make trial of another Expedient. Some Men, from the Conference they had with the Prisoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a Message were now sent of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Arms: and it was very notorious: that Multitudes ran every day from thence. How this Message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only Question that remained,

BOOK VIII. and it was agreed, "that Sir *Edward Walker* (who "was both Garter-King at Arms," and Secretary to the Council of War) "should be sent to publish that "his Majesty's Grace." But he wisely desired, "that a Trumpet might be first sent for a Pass;" the barbarity of that People being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Arms, or of Nations. Whereupon a Trumpet was sent to Sir *William Waller*, to desire "a Safe-Conduct for a Gentleman, "who should deliver a gracious Message from his "Majesty." After two hours Consideration, he returned Answer, "that he had no power to receive "any Message of Grace, or Favor from his Majesty, "without the Consent of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, to whom his Majesty, if he "pleased, might make his addresses." And as soon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest Cannon to be made at the King's Army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majesty used to be.

When both Armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two Days, they both drew off to a greater Distance from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appeared, by *Waller's* still keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from *Buckingham*, sometimes towards *Northampton* and sometimes towards *Warwick*, that he was without other Design, than of recruiting his Army; and that the Defeat of that day at *Cropredy* was much greater, than it then appeared to be; and that it even broke the heart of his Army. And it is

very probable, that if the King, after he had rested and refreshed his Men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual Duty, besides that the Provisions would not hold longer in the same Quarters, had followed *Waller*, when it was evident He would not follow the King, he might have destroyed that Army without Fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without it's being pursued, that within fourteen days after that Action at *Cropley*, *Waller's* Army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remained not with him half that Number.

But the truth is, from the time that the King discovered that mutinous Spirit in the Officers, governed by *Wilmot*, at *Buckingham*, he was unsatisfied with the Temper of his own Army, and did not desire a thorough Engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolved never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil Intention. But when he now found himself so much at Liberty from two great Armies, which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a Month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a State, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehensions of the terrible fright the Queen would be in (who was newly delivered of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when she saw the Earl of *Effex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and should be at the same time informed, that *Waller* was with another Army in pursuit of himself.

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His Majesty resolved therefore, with all possible Expedition, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, in hopes that he should be able to fight a Battle with him, before *Waller* should be in a Condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved, by a Conjunction with Prince *Maurice*; who, though he retired before *Essex*, would be well able, by the North of *Devonshire*, to meet the King, when he should know that he marched that way.

His Majesty had no sooner taken this Resolution, than he gave notice of it to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; and sent an Express into the West, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, "to draw what Men he could out of *Monmouthshire*, and South-*Wales*, into *Bristol*; that himself might meet his Majesty with as many as he could possibly draw out of that Garrison." So, without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was possible, marched towards the West over the *Cotswold* to *Cirencester*; and so to *Bath*; where he arrived on the 15th day of *July*, and staid there one whole day, to refresh his Army; which stood enough in need of it.

The King
marches to-
wards the
West.

The King had scarce marched two days Westward, when he was surpris'd with ill news from the North; for, after he had, by an Express from *Oxford*, received intelligence, "that Prince *Rupert* had not only relieved *York*, but totally defeated the *Scots*," with many particulars to confirm it (all which was so much believed there, that they had made public Fires of Joy for the Victory) he now received quite contrary Information, and was too surely convinced, that his

whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble Actions performed by Prince *Rupert* in the Relief of *Latham*, and the Reduction of *Bolton*, and all other places in that large County (*Manchester* only excepted) in which the Rebels lost very many, much Blood having been shed, in taking places by Assault, which were too obstinately defended; the Prince had marched out of *Lancashire* with so good Reputation, and had given his Orders so effectually to *Goring*, who lay in *Lincolnshire* with that Body of Horse that belonged to the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, that they happily joined him; and marched together towards *York*, with such Expedition, that the Enemy was so surprised, that they found it necessary to raise the Siege in Confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the Town free, drew to the other side, in great Disorder and Consternation; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the Officers, and, indeed, between the Nations: the *English* resolving to join no more with the *Scots*, and They, on the other side, as weary of their Company, and Discipline; so that the Prince had done his Work; and if he had sat still, the Enemies great Army would have mouldered to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his Highness would take of them.

But the dismal Fate of the Kingdom would not permit so much Sobriety of Counsel: One side of the Town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire Communication with those in the Town, and all Provision brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without consulting with the

An Account
of the Battle of
Marston-moor.

B O O K Marquis of *New-Castle*, or any of the Officers within
VIII. the Town, sent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that side where the Enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present Battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that Party of the King's Horse which Charged the *Scots*, so totally Routed and Defeated their whole Army, that they fled all ways for many Miles together, and were knocked on the head, and taken Prisoners by the Country, and *Lesly* their General fled ten Miles, and was taken Prisoner by a Constable (from whence the News of the Victory was speedily brought to *Newark*, and thence sent by an Express to *Oxford*; and so received and spread as aforesaid) yet the *English* Horse, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* Charged so well, and in such excellent Order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that, though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers killed, they prevailed over that Body of Horse which opposed them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field; and almost the whole Body of the Marquis of *New-Castle*'s Foot were cut off.

The Marquis himself, and his brave Brother, Sir *Charles Cavendish* (who was a Man of the noblest, and largest mind, though the least, and most inconvenient Body that lived) Charged in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as Men could do. But it was so late in the Evening before the Battle begun, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and

the Generals returned into the Town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performed very few Compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate Battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole Country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good Army together) by Prince *Rupert's* hasty departure with all his Troops, and the Marquis of *New-Castle's* as hasty departure to the Sea-side, and taking Ship, and Transporting himself out of the Kingdom, and all the ill Consequences thereupon, give so ill an Account of any Conduct, or Discretion, in the managery of that Affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in writing of it, so Posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular Relation of it.

This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whereof one had still a good Army left, his Horse, by their not having performed their Duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the great execution having fallen upon the Northern-Foot; and the other, having the absolute Commission over the Northern-Counties, and very many Considerable places in them still remaining under his Obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good City, and the whole Country, as a prey to the Enemy; who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the *Scots* having been so totally routed (as hath been said before) their General made Prisoner by a Constable, and detained in Custody, till most part of the next day was past; and most of the

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Officers, and Army. having marched, or run above ten Miles Northward, before they had News that they might securely return: And though the Horse under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best Officers killed, or so maimed that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good Degree (for the Enemy was not possessed of the Field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the Horse, which had done so little, might do the next day) there might probably many Advantages have appeared, which were not at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

But neither of them were Friends to such Deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a Messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he was resolved, that Morning, to march away with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left;" and the other, "that he would, in that Instant, repair to the Sea-side, and Transport himself beyond the Seas;" both which they immediately performed; the Marquis making haste to *Scarborough*, there Embarked in a poor Vessel, and arrived at *Amburgh*: the Prince, with his Army, begun his March the same Morning towards *Chester*. And so *York* was left to the discretion of Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governor thereof, to do with it as He thought fit; being in a Condition only to deliver it up with more

Decency, not to defend it against an Enemy that B O O K
would require it. VIII.

Whereas, if Prince *Rupert* had stayed with the Army he marched away with, at any reasonable Distance, it would have been long before the Jealousies, and Breaches, which were between the *English* and *Scots* Armies, would have been enough composed to have agreed upon the renewing the Siege; such great quantities of Provision being already brought into the Town: and the *Scots* talked of nothing but returning into their own Country, where the Marquis of *Mountrose* had kindled already a Fire, which the Parliament of *Edinburgh* could not quench. But the certain intelligence, "that the Prince was marched
" away without thought of returning, and that the
" Marquis had Embarked himself," reconciled them so far (and nothing else could) that, after two days, they returned to the Posts they had before had in the Siege; and so straitened the Town, that the Governor, when he had no hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good Articles York delivered
for the Town, and the Gentry that were in it, and to the Parlia-
for Himself, and the few Soldiers he had left, as he ment-Forces.
could propose: And so he marched with all his Troops to *Carlisle*; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable Circumstances of Courage, Industry, and Patience.

The Times afterwards grew so bad, and the King's Affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of those two great Persons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any

B O O K particular Relation of the grounds of their Proceeding,
VIII. or the causes of their misadventures, by way of excuse to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the Murder of the King, produced a Letter in the King's own hand, which he received when he was upon his March from *Lancashire* towards *York*; in which his Majesty said, "that his Affairs were in so very ill a State, that it would not be enough, though his Highness raised the Siege from *York*, if he had not likewise beaten the *Scottish* Army; which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what disadvantage soever:" and added, "that the disadvantage was so great, the Enemy being so much Superior in number, it was no wonder he lost the day." But as the King's Letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest Cause of the Misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the Battle, as soon as the Enemy drew off; and without Consulting at all with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and his Officers; who must needs know more of the Enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his Highness could do. For he saw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he came into the Field, in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a private Captain, when the Battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the Marquis' Army, who came out of the Town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and assigned to them; which much indisposed both Officers and Soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the Fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away ; for it was past three in the Afternoon : whereas, if it had been deferred till next Morning, in which time a full Consultation might have been had , and the Officers and Soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected ; nor would the Confusion and Consternation the other Armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present Engagement, have been the less ; but, on the contrary, very much improved by the delay ; for the Bitterness and Animosity between the Chief-Commanders was such, that a great part of the Army was marched six Miles, when it appeared, by the Prince's manner of drawing his Army together to that ground, that his resolution was to Fight: the speedy Intelligence whereof prevailed, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far , to return ; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an Action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them ; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the *Scots* would , the next Morning , have continued their March Northward ; and the Earl of *Manchester* would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his Associated Counties ; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

But then of all the rest, his going away the next Morning with all his Troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable ; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the King's Affairs in those parts. Nor did

B O O K those Troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the King's Service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the Officers, whereof many were Gentlemen of Quality and great Merit, were killed upon beating up of Quarters, and little Actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the Prince had some secret Intimation of the Marquis' purpose of immediately leaving the Town, and Embarking himself for the parts beyond the Seas, before the Marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the Command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his Charge, might be without any imagination that the Prince would take such a distracted Government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint distemper, with which they were both transported, any Persons of discretion and honor, had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present Resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very few had the least suspicion of their Intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their Conversion attempted.

All that can be said for the Marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a Condition and Employment so contrary to his Humor, Nature, and Education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from
 having

having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of, Courage, and most accomplished in those Qualities of Horsemanship, Dancing, and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in Poetry, and Music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample Fortune, but Honor and Ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved Monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness, and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendor and security of the Crown; and Religion, as it cherished, and maintained that Order and Obedience that was necessary to Both; without any other passion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into Parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the Public Peace.

He had a particular Reverence for the Person of the King, and the more extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the Honor to be trusted with his Education as his Governor; for which Office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable Envy which the powerful Faction had contracted

B O O K against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated
VIII. to possess himself of some place of strength, and to
 raise some Force for his Defence, but the Earl of *New-
 Castle* (he was made Marquis afterwards) obeyed his
 first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity,
 seized upon that Town; when till then there was
 not one Port-Town in *England*, that avowed their
 Obedience to the King: and he then presently raised
 such Regiments of Horse and Foot, as were necessary
 for the present state of Affairs; all which was done
 purely by his own Interest, and the Concurrence of
 his numerous Allies in those Northern Parts; who
 with all alacrity obeyed his Commands, without any
 charge to the King; which he was not able to supply.

And after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the Rebels
 grew so strong in *Yorkshire*, by the influence their
 Garrison of *Hull* had upon both the East and West-
 Riding there, that it behoved the King presently to
 make a General, who might unite all those Northern
 Counties in his Service; he could not chuse any
 Man so fit for it, as the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was
 not only possessed of a present Force, and of that
 important Town, but had a greater Reputation and
 Interest in *Yorkshire* itself, than, at that present, any
 other Man had: the Earl of *Cumberland* being at that
 time, though of entire Affection to the King, much
 decayed in the vigor of his Body, and his Mind, and
 unfit for that Activity which the Season required.
 And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of *New-Castle*,
 by his quick march with his Troops, as soon as he had
 received his Commission to be General, and in the
 depth of Winter, redeemed, or rescued the City of

York from the Rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was Master of it, he raised Men apace, and drew an Army together, with which he Fought many Battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) Success and Victory.

He liked the Pomp, and absolute Authority of a General well, and preserved the Dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward State, and Circumstances of it, in acts of Courtesy, Affability, Bounty, and Generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a War, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to Men of all Conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with War) not could submit to; but referred all matters of that Nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant-General *King*; who, no doubt, was an Officer of great Experience and Ability, yet, being a Scots-marr, was in that conjuncture, upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the General himself had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was still present, and never absent in any Battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible Courage and Fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the Day, when his Troops begun to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion

B O O K foever; infomuh as he sometimes denied admiffion to
VIII. the Chiefest Officers of the Army, even to General
King himfelf, for two days together; from whence
 many inconveniencies fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence
 or regard for the Privy-Council, with few of whom
 he had any acquaintance; but was of the other Sol-
 diers mind, that all the bufinefs ought to be done by
 Councils of War, and was always angry when there
 were any Overtures of a Treaty; and therefore, efpe-
 cially after the Queen had Landed in *Yorkfhire*, and
 ftaid fo long there, he confidered any Orders he re-
 ceived from *Oxford*, though from the King himfelf,
 more negligently than he ought to have done; and
 when he thought himfelf fure of *Hull*, and was fure
 that he fhould be then Mafter entirely of all the North,
 he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had
 then Orders to march into the Affociated Counties,
 when, upon the taking of *Bristol*, his Majefty had a
 purpofe to have marched towards *London* on the
 other fide) out of apprehenfion that he fhould be
 eclipsed by the Court, and his Authority overshadow-
 ed by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*; from whom
 he defired to be at diftance: Yet when he found him-
 felf in diftrefs, and neceffitated to draw his Army
 within the Walls of *York*, and faw no way to be re-
 lieved but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great
 feats of Arms in the relief of *Newark*, and afterwards
 in his Expedition into *Lancafhires*, where he was at
 that time, he writ to the King to *Oxford*, either upon
 the knowledge that the abfolutenefs, and illimitednefs
 of his Commiffion was generally much fpoken of, or

out of the Conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; “that he hoped his Majesty did believe, that he “would never make the least scruple to obey the “Grand-child of King *James*: And assuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious Condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his Service, and Interest.

But the strange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the King's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary Engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious Actions, might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future Action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King*; upon whom, they who were content to spare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of “Infidelity, Treason, and Conjunction “with his Country-men;” which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal Discontent, and the miserable Condition to which the People of those Northern Parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole Course of his

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Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honor, and had exercised the highest Commands under the King of *Sweden* with extraordinary ability, and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his Country-men with the highest malice, from his very coming into the King's Service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his death.

The loss of *England* came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of *York*, or the too soon deserting the Northern Parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his Fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from Banishment, without the least application to the Usurpers, who were possessed of his whole Estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable Waste, in destroying all his Woods of very great Value, and who were still equally abhorred, and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the King's Quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good Men to him, that they rather observed, what he had Done, and Suffered for the King and for his Country, without farther inquiring what he had Omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

This fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his Majesty, but that it made him pursue his former Resolution, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the

Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first News of the Earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Cornwall*; from whence, in a short time, she embarked for *France* (the Prince of *Orange* having sent some Dutch Ships of War, to attend her Commands in the Harbour of *Falmouth*; and from thence her Majesty transported herself) his Majesty marched more slowly, that he might increase his Army from *Bristol*, and other places; making no doubt, but that he should engage the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he should be able to return to *London*.

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The Queen
retires into
France.

The Earl of *Essex*'s good Fortune now begun to decline: he had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness, and skill, but run into Labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of *Exeter*, which he had some thought of Besieging, without any imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him, having left the King in so ill a condition, and Sir *William Waller* with so good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the "disappointment Sir *William Waller* had received; and that the King "was come with his whole Army into the West in "pursuit of him, without being followed by *Waller*, "or any Troops to disquiet or retard his March;" which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the Parliament itself had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

The Jealousies were now indeed grown very great

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VIII. between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving *Waller*, to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King, but as a Declaration that he would no more fight against the Person of the King; and the Earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament expressed for, and towards His Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of His. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that upon so little a brush, as *Waller* had sustained, he could not be able to follow, and disturb the King in a Country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the News, he resolved to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he entered *Devonshire*, or else in *Somersetshire*; in either of which places he could not be straitened in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General-Officer in his Army, of an insociable Nature, and impetuous Disposition, full of contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts so much superior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the Army; but pressed, with His confidence, "that the Army should continue it's March to *Cornwall*," where he undertook to have so great Interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the Earl

“ of *Essex*, with his Army, would so unite that County
 “ to the Parliament's Service, that it would be easy to
 “ defend the passes into the whole County (which
 “ are not many) in such a manner, that the King's
 “ Army should never be able to enter into *Cornwall*,
 “ nor to retire out of *Devonshire* without great loss,
 “ nor before the Parliament would send more Forces
 “ upon their backs.”

The Lord *Roberts*, though inferior in the Army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of *Essex*; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with Sir *Harry Vane*, whom of all Men the Earl hated, and looked upon as an Enemy. He had never been in *Cornwall*; so he knew not the Situation of the Country: some of the Officers, and some others of that Country (as there were with him four or five Gentlemen of that Country of Interest) concurred fully with the Lord *Roberts*, and promised great matters, if the Army marched thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow County; and pursued Prince *Maurice* and those Forces, which easily retired, Westward; until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

After the King had made a small stay at *Exeter*, where he found his young Daughter, of whom the Queen had been so lately delivered, under the Care and Government of the Lady *Dalkeith* (shortly after Countess of *Morton* by the death of her Husband's Father) who had been long before designed by

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The Earl of
Essex marches
into *Cornwall*.

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The King
follows him
thither.

both their Majesties to that Charge; and having a little refreshed, and accommodated his Troops, he marched directly to *Cornwall*; where he found the Earl of *Essex* in such a part of the Country on the Sea-side, that he quickly, by the general Conflux and Concourse of the whole People, upon which the Earl had been persuaded so much to depend, found means, with very little Fighting, so to straiten his Quarters, that there seemed little appearance that he could possibly march away with his Army, or compel the King to Fight. He was, upon the matter, inclosed in, and about *Foy*; whilst the King lay encamped about *Liskard*; and no day passed without some Skirmishes; in which the Earl was more distressed, and many of his principal Officers taken Prisoners. Here there happened an Accident that might very well have turned the King's Fortune, and deprived him of all the Advantages which were then in view. The King being always in the Army himself, all matters were still debated before him, in the presence of those Counsellors who were about him; who, being Men of better understandings and better expressions than the Officers, commonly disposed his Majesty to Their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was proposed by the Officers. The Counsellors, as hath been said before, were the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls, of whose judgment the King had more esteem, even with reference to the War, than of most of the Officers of the Army; which raised an implacable animosity in the whole Army against them. General *Ruthen*, who by this time was Created

Earl of *Brentford*, was General of the Army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his Age, and his extreme deafness, was not a Man of Counsel or Words; hardly conceived what was propos'd, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his Eye than his Ear; and in the Field well knew what was to be done. *Wilmot* was Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and at this time the second Officer of the Army, and had much more Credit and Authority in it, than any Man; which he had not employ'd to the King's advantage, as his Majesty believed. He was a Man Proud, and Ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit even than his Rival *Goring*, and swayed more among the good Fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, should have so much credit with the King in Councils of War.

The King had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the Earl of *Strafford*: however, he had been induced, upon the Accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him. This *Wilmot* knew well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadowed in the War; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable Peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in *Buckinghamshire*; and, "that the King ought to send Propositions to the Parliament, in order to obtaining it;" and

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in this March had prosecuted his former design by several Cabals among the Officers; and disposed them to Petition the King, "to send to the Parliament again an offer of Peace; and that the Lord *Digby*, "and Sir *John Colepepper*, might not be permitted to "be present in Councils of War;" implying, "that "if this might not be granted, they would think of "some other way." Which Petition, though, by the Wisdom of some Officers, it was kept from being delivered, yet so provoked the King, that he resolved to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humor; in which good disposition the Lord *Digby* ceased not to confirm his Majesty; and as soon as the News came of the Northern Defeat, and that the Marquis of *New-Castle* had left the Kingdom, he prevailed that *Goring* might be sent for to attend his Majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his Nephew Prince *Rupert* General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Horse; which *Wilmot* could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always Superior to him in Command; and yet would be such a Mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

Whether his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humor, transported him, but he gave not the King time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and rougher remedy: for during the whole March, he discoursed, in all places, "that the King must send to the Earl of *Essex* "to invite him to a Conjunction with him, so that "the Parliament might be obliged to consent to a

" Peace; and pretended, that he had so good Intel-
 " ligence in that Army, as to know that such an
 " Invitation would prove effectual, and be acceptable
 " to the Earl; who, he knew, was unsatisfied with
 " the Parliament's behaviour towards him:" and he
 was so indiscreet, as to desire a Gentleman, with
 whom he had no intimacy, and who had a Pass to go
 beyond the Seas, and must go through the Earl's
 Quarters, "that he would remember his Service
 " to the Earl of *Essex*; and assure him, that the Army
 " so much desired Peace, that it should not be in the
 " Power of any of those Persons about the King to
 " hinder it, if his Lordship would treat upon any rea-
 " sonable Propositions." All which kind of carriage
 and discourses were quickly represented, in their full
 magnitude, to the King by the Lord *Digby*; and his
 Majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a
 formed distrust. So that after the King came into
Cornwall, and had his whole Army drawn up on the
 top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Essex*, who was
 in the Bottom, and a Battle expected every day, upon
 some new discourse *Wilmot* made out of Pride and
 Vanity (for there was not, in all the former, the least
 formed Act of Sedition in his heart) the Knight-
 Marshal, with the assistance of *Tom Elliot*, arrested
 him in the King's Name of High-Treason; and dis-
 mounted him from his Horse in the head of all the
 Troops; putting a Guard upon him. He was presently
 sent Prisoner to *Exeter*, without any other ill effect,
 which might very reasonably have been apprehend-
 ed in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed gene-
 rally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes

B O O K he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteemed:
VIII. yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vanished away.

The same day that *Wilmot* was arrested, the King removed another General Officer of his Army, the Lord *Piercy*; who had been made General of the Ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated Considerations; and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton*; whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the Lord *Piercy* (who was the first that had been created a Baron at *Oxford* upon the Queen's Intercession; which obliged the King to bestow the same honor on more Men) had been as much inclined to mutiny, as the Lord *Wilmot*; and was much a bolder Speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling Men to him. Yet even His removal added to the ill humor of the Army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious Person, yet he had always three or four Persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he ate well; which, in the General scarcity of that time, drew many Votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his Table and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on His behalf.

The very next day after these Removals, Colonel *Goring* appeared; who had waited upon the King the

night before, at this Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert*: and then the Army being drawn up, his Majesty, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, rode to every Division of the Horse, and there declared, "that, at the request of his Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and upon his resignation, he made Mr. *Goring* General of the Horse; and commanded them all to obey him; and for the Lord *Wilmot*, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrained him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his Command in the Army;" which Declaration visibly raised the countenance of the Body of Horse, more than the King was pleased with observing: and the very next day the greatest part of the Officers delivered a Petition, "that his Majesty would give them so much light of the Lord *Wilmot's* Crimes, that they might see that Themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his Orders;" which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the Army was in, when they were even in view of the Enemy, and of which the King had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a Draught of the Articles, by which he was charged: which though they contained so many Indiscretions, Vanities and Insolencies, that wise and dispassionate Men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the Articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an Answer to them, that made many Men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough.

BOOK Yet *Wilmot* himself, when he saw his old mortal
VIII. Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into *France*; and had presently a Pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he received it; and so transported himself out of the Kingdom; which opened the Mouths of many, and made it believed, that he had been sacrificed to some Faction and Intrigue of the Court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

The King had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the Earl of *Essex*, from the notorious Indignities which he received from the Parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which He, and his Army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his Majesty. The Lord *Beauchamp*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into *France*; and to that purpose had a Pass from his Uncle, the Earl of *Essex*, for himself; Monsieur *Richaute* a *French*-man, who had been his Governor; and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*, and being now with the King, it was necessary to pass through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchsafed to write a Letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him:

“How much it was in his power to restore that
“Peace to the Kingdom, which he had professed
“always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did
“fully comply with all those ends for which the Par-
liament

liament had first taken up Arms: for his Majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends; but that since the Invasion of the Kingdom by the Scots, all his Overtures of Peace had been rejected; which must prove the destruction of the Kingdom, if he did not, with his Authority and Power, dispose those at *Westminster* to accept of a Peace that might preserve it; with all those Arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his Majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the Service and Merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The King desired, that a Pass might be procured for Mr. *Harding*, one of the grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, a Gentleman, who had been before of much conversation with the Earl, and much loved by him; and the procuring this Pass was recommended to Monsieur *Richaute*.

The Earl received his Nephew very kindly; who delivered the King's Letter to him, which he received, and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Monsieur *Richaute*, was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the King; the Earl called him into his Chamber, in the presence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to him?" *Richaute* told him, "that his principal business was to desire his Permission and Pass, that Mr. *Harding* might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, he presumed, would not be unacceptable to him." The Earl Answered in short, "that he would not permit Mr. *Harding* to come to him, nor would he have any Treaty with the King, having received no

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“Warrant for it from the Parliament:” upon which, *Richaute* enlarged himself upon some particulars, which *Mr. Harding* was to have urged, “of the King’s desire of Peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, “as well those at *Oxford*, as in the Army, in the same desire of preserving the Kingdom from a Conquest “by the *Scots* ;” and other discourse to that purpose; “and of the King’s readiness to give him any security “for the performance of all he had promised.” To all which the Earl Answered sullenly, “that according to the Commission he had received, he would “defend the King’s Person, and Posterity; and that “the best Counsel he could give him was, to go to “his Parliament.”

As soon as the King received this Account of his Letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those Addressees, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to Fight with the Enemy as soon as was possible; and so, the next day, drew up all his Army in sight of the Enemy; and had many Skirmishes between the Horse of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that part of a large Heath upon which they stood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Mohun*, at *Boconnoeke*; they having the possession of his House, where they Quartered conveniently. That Night both Armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the Field; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorously advanced upon the Enemy, to which his Army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the King’s Army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on

the contrary, the Earl's seemed much surpris'd, and in confusion, to see the other Army so near them. But such censures always attend such Conjunctions, and find fault for what is Not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next Morning the King called a Council, to consider whether they should that day compel the Enemy to Fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of Sir *Richard Greenvil*; who was yet in the West of *Cornwal*, and had a Body of eight thousand Horse and Foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the Foot should be presently drawn into the Inclosures between *Boconnoche* and the Heath; all the Fences to the Grounds of that Country being very good Breast-works against the Enemy. The King's head-Quarter was made at the Lord *Mohun's* House, which the Earl of *Essex* had kindly quitted, when the King's Army advanced the day before. The Horse were Quartered, for the most part, between *Liskard* and the Sea; and, every day, compelled the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge closer together; and in this posture both Armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient Spirit that had possessed so many of the Horse-Officers, appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the Prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in *Essex*, in refusing to treat with the King, proceeded only from his jealousy that when the King had got

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" him into his hands, he would take revenge upon him, for all the mischief he had sustained by him; and that, if he had any assurance that what was promised would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat."

Upon this excellent Evidence, these Politic Contrivers presumed to prepare a Letter, that should be subscribed by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the beginning of which Letter was, " that they had obtained leave of the King to send that Letter to him." There they proposed, " that He with six Officers, whom he should chuse, would the next Morning meet with their General, and six other Officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and if he would not himself be present, that then six Officers of the King's Army should meet with six such as He should appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that they, and every of them, who subscribed the Letter, would, upon the honor and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, with their Lives maintain that whatsoever his Majesty should promise, should be performed; and that it should not be in the power of any Private Person whatsoever, to interrupt or hinder the execution thereof." When they had framed this Letter between themselves, and showed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the King, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the Earl of *Essex*.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this Letter was,

and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his Majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were persuaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to consent that the Officers should sign it; and that the General should send a Trumpet with it; his Majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own Letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly Spirit out of his Army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious Addresses, and that it might add some Spirit and Animosity to the Officers and Soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl received their application: And so Prince *Maurice*, General *Goring*, and all the Superior Officers of the Army, signed the Letter; which a Trumpet delivered to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the next day, returned his Answer to them in these words: "My Lords, in the beginning of your Letter you express by what Authority you send it; I having no Authority from the Parliament, who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust My Lords, I am your humble Servant, *Essex*, *Lisliuel*, Aug. 10. 1644" This short surly Answer produced the Effect the King wished and expected; they who had been so over-active in contriving the Address, were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole Army seemed well composed to obtain that by their Swords, which they could not by their Pen.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* was now come up to the Post

B O O K where he should be; and, at *Bodmin*, in his March,
VIII. had fallen upon a Party of the Earl's Horse, and killed many, and taken others Prisoners, and presented himself to the King at *Boconnocke*; giving his Majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particplur of his Forces; which, after all the high discourfes, amounted really but to eighteen hundred Foot, and six hundred Horse; above one hundred of which were of the Queen's Troop (left behind when her Majesty Embarked for *France*) under the Command of Captain *Edward Bret*; who had done very good Service in the Western Parts of that County, from the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirmed the Trained-bands of those parts. This Troop was presently added to the King's Guards under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, and Captain *Bret* was made Major of that Regiment.

Though the Earl of *Essex* had but strait and narrow room for his Quarters for so great an Army of Horse and Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of Provisions, the Parliament-Ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his Post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to Fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that *Waller*, or some other force sent from the Parliament, would be shortly upon the King's back, as his Majesty was upon His: and no question, this rational Confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all Overtures made to him by the King; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own Nature; which whosoever

was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen, what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his Quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his Provisions by Sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose Sir *Richard Greenild* drew his Men from *Bodmin*, and possessed himself of *Lanhetherick*, a strong House of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles West of *Boconnocke*, and over the River that runs to *Lisfithiel*, and thence to *Foy*, and likewise to *Reprime-Bridge*; by which the Enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe Communication made between him and the King's Army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, Sir *Jacob Astley*, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, made himself Master of *View-Hall*, another House of the Lord *Mohun's*, over against *Foy*, and of *Pernon-Fort*, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the *Haven*; both which places he found so tenable, that he put Captain *Page* into one, and Captain *Garraway* into the other, with two hundred Commanded Men, and two or three pieces of Ordnance; which these two Captains made good, and defended so well, that they made *Foy* utterly useless to *Essex*, safe for the Quartering his Men; not suffering any Provisions to be brought in to him from the Sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all Men, that he, being so long possessed of *Foy*, did not put strong Guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his Army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

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Now the King had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the Earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his Army, or to make his own Escape. In this posture both Armies lay still, without any notable Action, for the space of eight, or ten days; when the King seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Effix* to Fight, or to be uneasy even in his Quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either *Waller* himself, or some other Forces, were already upon their March towards the West. With this Resolution the whole Army advanced in such a manner, that the Enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called *Beacon-Hill*; which they no sooner quitted, than the King possessed; and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a Battery made, upon which some pieces of Cannon were planted, that shot into their Quarters, and did them great hurt; when their Cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the King's Forces had a full prospect over all the others Quarters; saw how all their Foot and Horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their Forage and Provisions; which when clearly viewed and observed, *Goring* was sent with the greatest part of the Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Westward to *St. Blase*, to drive the Enemy yet closer together, and cut off the Provisions they

received from thence ; which was so well executed, that they did not only possess themselves of *St. Austel*, and the Westerly part of *St. Blase* (so that the Enemies Horse was reduced to that small extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy*, and that at *Blase*, which is not above two Miles in breadth, and little more in length ; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to *Lisithiel*, and therefore it could not now long supply them) but likewise were Masters of the *Parr* near *St. Blase* ; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of Landing the Provisions which came by Sea. And now the Earl begun to be very sensible of the ill Condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture ; besides, he had received advertisement that the Party which was sent for his Relief from *London*, had received some brush in *Somersetshire*, which would much retard their March ; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new Counsels, and to take new Resolutions.

It is very true the Defeat at *Cropredy* (in which there did not appear to be one thousand Men killed, or taken Prisoners) had so totally broken *Waller's* Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after ; but when he had marched at a distance from the King, to recover the broken Spirits of his Men, and heard that his Majesty was marched directly towards the West, observing likewise that every Night very many of his Men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to *London*, where he made grievous complaints against the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted ; all which was greedily hearkened

BOOK to, and his Person received, and treated, as if he had
VIII. returned Victorious after having Defeated the King's Army : which was a method very contrary to what was used in the King's Quarters , where all accidental Misfortunes , how inevitable soever , were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

But when he went himself to *London* , or presently upon it , he sent his Lieutenant-General *Middleton* (a Person of whom We shall say much hereafter , and who lived to wipe out the Memory of the ill foot-steps of his Youth ; for he was but eighteen years of Age , when he was first led into Rebellion) with a Body of three thousand Horse and Dragoons , to follow the King into the West , and to wait upon his Rear , with Orders to reduce in his way *Donnington-Castle* , the House of a private Gentleman near *Newbury* , in which there were a Company or two of Foot of the King's ; and which they believed would be delivered up , as soon as demanded ; being a place , as They thought , of little strength. But *Middleton* found it so well defended by Colonel *Bois* , who was Governor of it , that after he had lost at least three hundred Officers and Soldiers , in attempting to take it , he was compelled to recommend it to the Governor of *Abingdon* , to send an Officer and some Troops to block it up from infesting that great Road into the West ; and himself prosecuted his March to follow the King.

In *Somersetshire* , he heard of great Magazines of all Provisions , made for the supply of the King's Army , which were sent every day by strong Convoys to *Exeter* , there to wait farther Orders. To surprise these Provisions he sent Major *Carr* , with five hundred

Horse; who fell into the Village where the Convoy was, and was very like to have Mastered them, when Sir *Francis Doddington*, with a Troop of Horse, and some Foot from *Bridgewater*, came seasonably to their Relief; and after a very sharp Conflict, in which two or three good Officers of the King's were killed, and, among them, Major *Killigrew*, a very hopeful young Man, the Son of a Gallant and most deserving Father, he totally Routed the Enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three Miles; in which Major *Carr*, who Commanded the Party, and many other Officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp Encounters, where always many more Men are lost, than are killed, or taken Prisoners, put such a stop to *Middleton's* March, that he was glad to retire back to *Sherborne*, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the Spirits of his Men. This was the Defeat or Obstruction, which the Earl of *Essex* had Intelligence that the Forces had met with coming to his Relief; and which made him despair of any Succour that way.

When the Earl found himself in this Condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any Provisions for his Army; he resolved, that Sir *William Balfour* should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would Embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them escape by Sea. And two Foot-Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a *French-man*, came over from them, and assured the King, " that they intended, that Night,

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“ to break through with their Horfe, which were all
 “ then drawn on that fide the River, and Town of
 “ *Liflithiel*; and that the Foot were to march to *Foy*,
 “ where they fhould be Embarked.” This Intelligence
 agreed with what they otherwife received, and was
 believed as it ought to be; and thereupon, order was
 given, “ that both Armies (for that under Prince
 “ *Maurice* was looked upon as diftinct, and always
 “ fo Quartered) fhould ftand to their Arms all that
 “ Night; and if the Horfe attempted an efcape, fall
 “ on them from both Quarters;” the paffage between
 them, through which they muft go, being but a
 Mufquet-shot over; and they could not avoid going
 very near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified;
 in which fifty Mufqueteers were placed. Advertife-
 ment was fent to *Goring*, and all the Horfe; and
 the Orders renewed, which had formerly been given,
 for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down
 the Trees near the high-way, to obftruct their paffage.

Walfour with
 the Earl of
 Effex's Horfe
 efcape thro'
 the King's
 Army.

The effect of all this Providence was not fuch as
 was reasonably to be expected. The Night grew dark
 and mifty, as the Enemy could wifh; and about three
 in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horfe paffed
 with great Silence between the Armies, and within
 Pistol-shot of the Cottage, without fo much as one
 Mufquet difcharged at them. At the break of Day,
 the Horfe were difcovered marching over the Heath,
 beyond the reach of the Foot; and there was only
 at hand the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, the Body of
 the King's Horfe being at a greater diftance. That
 Brigade, to which fome other Troops which had
 taken the Alarm joined, followed them in the Rear;

and killed some, and took more Prisoners: But stronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole March. The Notice and Orders came to *Goring*, when he was in one of his jovial Exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as Men who took Alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the Enemies Horse were passed through his Quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their Horses, became Prisoners, *Balfour* continued his March even to *London*, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite Reproach of the King's Army, and of all his Garrisons in the way. Nor was any Man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the Superior Officer had failed in his duty.

The next Morning, after the Horse were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and quitted *Liflithiel*, and marched towards *Foy*; having left order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majesty himself from his new Fort discerned it, and sent a Company of Musqueteers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserved the Bridge; over which the King presently marched to overtake the Rear of the Army, which marched so fast, yet in good Order, that they left two Demi-Culverins, and two other

very good Guns, and some Ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That day was spent in smart Skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's Horse had been more, whereof he had only two Troops of his Guards (which did good Service) it would have proved a Bloody day to the Enemy. The Night coming on, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being so near the Enemy, that they discharged many Cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at Supper. *Sunday* being the next day, and the first day of *September*, in the Morning, *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Essex*, who had been taken Prisoner at *Boconnocke*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to desire a Parley. As soon as he was sent away, the Earl Embarked himself, with the Lord *Roberts*, and such other Officers as he had most kindness for, in a Vessel at *Foy*; and so escaped into *Plymouth*; leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the care of Major-General *Skippon*; who was to make as good Conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, delivered at *London*; where he was received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have showed to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himself likewise with him.

The Earl of
Essex leaves
his Army,
and escapes to
Plymouth
by Sea.

Skippon
makes Con-
ditions for
the Foot.

The King consented to the Parley; upon which a Cessation was concluded; and Hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the Enemy sent Proposi-

tions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified Town, after a handsome defence are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as Men in that Condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their Cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight-and-thirty pieces of Cannon; a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable; and about six thousand Arms; which being done, “the Officers were to have liberty to wear their
“Swords, and to pass with their own Money, and
“proper Goods; and to secure them from Plunder,
“they were to have a Convoy to *Poole*, or *Southamp-*
“*ton*; all their sick and wounded might stay in *Foy*
“till they were recovered, and then have Passes to
“*Plymouth*.”

This Agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of *September*, and though it was near the Evening before all was finished, they would march away that Night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from Violence, yet first at *Lisliethiel*, where they had been long Quartered, and in other Towns through which they had formerly passed, the Inhabitants, especially the Women, who pretended to see their own Clothes and Goods about them, which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had before behaved themselves with great Insolence in the march. That Night there came about one hundred of them to the King's Army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of *Foy*, there did not a third

B O O K part come to *Southampton*; where the King's **Convoy**
VIII. left them; to which *Skippon* gave a large Testimony
 under his hand, "that they had carried themselves
 " with great Civility towards them, and fully com-
 " plied with their obligation."

Affairs at
 Oxford during
 the King's
 absence.

Whilst the King was in the West, though he had
 left *Oxford* in a very ill State in respect of Provisions
 and Fortifications, and Soldiers, and of the different
 humors of those who remained there, the Town
 being full of Lords (besides those of the Council)
 and of Persons of the best Quality, with very many
 Ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept
 others from being so; yet, in his absence, they
 who were solicitous to carry on his Service, con-
 curred and agreed so well together, that they pre-
 vailed with the rest to do every thing that was neces-
 sary. They caused Provisions of Corn to be laid in,
 in great proportions; assigning the Public Schools to
 that purpose; and committing the Custody of them
 to the owners of the Corn. They had raised so many
 Volunteers, that their Guards were well kept, and
 there was need they should be so; for when both the
 Parliament-Armies were before the Town, Major
 General *Brown*, a Citizen of *London* of good Repu-
 tation, and a stout Man, had been left in *Abingdon*
 with a strong Garrison; from whence, being superior
 in number, he infested *Oxford* very much; which
 gave them the more reason to prosecute the Fortifi-
 cations, which, in the most important places, they
 brought to a good perfection, and when they had
 no more apprehension of a Siege, *Waller* being at a
 distance, and not able to follow the King, and less
 able

able to fit down before *Oxford*, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of. BOOK
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The King had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their Governor, and very apprehensive of his Rudeness, and want of Complacency. Upon the death of Sir *William Penniman*, who had been Governor of *Oxford*, to the great satisfaction of all Men, being a very brave and generous Person, and who performed all manner of Civilities to all sorts of People, as having had a good Education, and well understanding the manners of the Court (the Queen being then in *Oxford*) her Majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge, and care of a Roman Catholic, prevailed with the King, to confer that charge upon Sir *Arthur Aston*; who had been at *Reading*, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was Not known; and very much disliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at *Oxford*, to be beloved by any; which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his Majesty had given an extraordinary Commission to the Lords of his Council, to whose Authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a Man of a rough Nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of Money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some Officers of Name, who, having then no charge in the Army, staid in the Town; and those, by the

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King's direction, the Lords disposed to assist the Governor; and particularly, to take care of the several Quarters of the Town; one whereof was assigned to each of them: among them, Colonel *Gage* was one; who having the *English* Regiment in *Flanders*, had got leave there to make offer of his Service to the King; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to *Oxford*.

He was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Person, of an Honorable extraction, his Grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Master in the *Spanish* and *Italian* Tongues, besides the *French* and the *Dutch*, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in *England* in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in Courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the Arch-Duke and Dutchess, *Albert* and *Isabella*, at *Brussels*; which was a great and very regular Court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished Person. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be Besieged; and thought *Oxford* to be the more secure for His being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the Governor, Sir *Arthur*, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of Natures, and Manners, as different as Men can be.

The Garrison of *Basing-House*, the Seat of the Marquis of *Winchester*, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly Besieged, for the space of above three Months, by a conjunction of the Parliament-Troops of *Hampshire* and *Suffex*, under the Command of *Norton*, *Oxslow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*; a Man of Spirit, and of the greatest Fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the King's March into the West, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the King sent Notice to *Oxford* of his resolution to march into the West, the Council humbly desired his Majesty, "that he would make *Basing* his "way," and thereby relieve it, which his Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited *Waller* the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the Marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the Lords of the Council "to provide, in some manner "for his relief; and not to suffer his Person, and a "place from whence the Rebels received so much "prejudice, to fall into their hands." The Lady *Marchioness*, his Wife, was then in *Oxford*; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her Husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a Lady of great Honor and Alliance, as Sister to the Earl of *Essex*, and to the Lady *Marchioness* of *Hertford*; who was likewise in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman-Catholics, who were

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Colonel Gage
relieves
Basing-House.

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VIII. numerous in the Town, looked upon themselves as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offered to lift themselves, and their Servants in the Service.

The Council, both upon public and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the Officers; in all which the Governor too reasonably opposed the design, "as full of more difficulties, "and liable to greater damages, than any Soldier "who understood Command, would expose himself and the King's Service to;" and protested, "that he would not suffer any of the small Garrison "that was under his charge, to be hazarded in the "attempt." It was very true, *Basing* was near forty Miles from *Oxford* and, in the way between them, the Enemy had a strong Garrison of Horse and Foot at *Abingdon*, and as strong at *Reading*, whose Horse every day visited all the Highways near, besides a Body of Horse and Dragoons Quartered at *Newbury*; so that it appeared to most Men hardly possible to send a Party to *Basing*, and impossible for that Party to return to *Oxford*, if they should be able to get to *Basing*: yet new importunities from the Marquis, with a positive Declaration, "that he could not "defend it above ten days, and must then submit to "the worst conditions the Rebels were like to grant "to his Person, and to his Religion;" and new instances from his Lady, prevailed with the Lords to enter upon a new consultation; in which the Governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, " that BOOK
 " though he thought the Service full of hazard, VIII.
 " especially for the return; yet if the Lords would,
 " by lifting their own Servants, persuade the Gen-
 " tlemen in the Town to do the like, and engage
 " their own Persons, whereby a good Troop or two
 " of Horse might be raised (upon which the principal
 " dependance must be) he would willingly, if there
 " were no body else thought fitter for it, undertake
 " the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should
 " give a good account of it:" which being offered
 with great cheerfulness by a Person, of whose Pru-
 dence, as well as Courage, they had a full confidence,
 they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their
 power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the surrender of
Greenland-House (which could not possibly be longer
 defended, the whole structure being beaten down
 by the Cannon) the Regiment of Colonel *Hawkins*
 marched into *Oxford*, amounting to near three Hun-
 dred; to which as many others joined as made it up
 four hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Ser-
 vants upon their own Horses; and they, with the
 Volunteers, who frankly lifted themselves, amounted
 to a Body of two hundred and fifty very good Horse,
 all put under the Command of Colonel *William Web*,
 an excellent Officer, bred up in *Flanders* in some
 emulation with Colonel *Gage*; and who, upon the
 Catholic Interest, was at this time contented to serve
 under him. With this small Party for so great an
 Action, *Gage* marched out of *Oxford* in the begin-
 ning of the Night; and, by the Morning, reached

BOOK VIII. the place where he intended to refresh himself and his Troops; which was a Wood near *Wallingford*; from whence he despatched an Express to Sir *William Ogle*, Governor of *Winchester*; who had made a promise to the Lords of the Council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the Siege before *Basing*, he would send one hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot out of his Garrison for their Assistance;" and a presumption upon this aid, was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at What hour in the Morning his Party should fall into *Basing-Park*, in the Rear of the Rebels-Quarters; whilst *Gage* himself would fall on the other side; the Marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent Sallies from the House.

After some hours of refreshment in the Morning, and sending this Express to *Winchester*, the Troops marched through by Lanes to *Aldermaston*, a Village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that Night. They had marched, from the time they left *Oxford*, with Orange-Tawny Scarfs and Ribbons, that they might be taken for the Parliament-Soldiers; and hoped, by that Artifice, to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the Besiegers. But the Party of Horse which was sent before to *Aldermaston*, found there some of the Parliament-Horse, and forgetting their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven Prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to *Basing* of the approaching danger; which accident made their

stay shorter at that Village than was intended, and than the weariness of the Soldiers required. About eleven of the Clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that Night; the Horsemen often alighting, that the Foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary, and surbated. B O O K
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Between four and five of the Clock on *Wednesday* Morning, it having been *Monday* Night that they left *Oxford*, they arrived within a Mile of *Basing*; where an Officer, sent from Sir *William Ogle*, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his Troops so far, in regard many of the Enemies Horse lay between *Winchester* and *Basing*." This broke all the Colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole Method of his proceedings; and instead of dividing his Forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the *Winchester* Forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved, now to fall on jointly with all his Body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the Men to be ranged in Battalions; and rid to every Squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every Man to tie a white Tape-Ribbon, or Handkerchief above the Elbow of their right Arm; and gave them the word *St. George*; which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the Marquis, lest in his Sallies their Men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

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Thus they marched towards the House, Colonel *Web* leading the right Wing, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Bunkley* the left of the Horse; and *Gage* himself the Foot: they had not marched far, when at the upper End of a large Campaign - Field, upon a little rising of an Hill, they discerned a Body of five Cornets of Horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the Colonel must pass between two Hedges lined very thick with Musqueteers; from whom the Horse very Courageously bore a smart Volley, and then Charged the Enemies Horse so Galantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The Foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from Hedge to Hedge, retired into their Quarters and Works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the House was gained on that side, where the Colonel only stayed to salute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve Barrels of Powder, and twelve hundred weight of Match; and immediately marched with his Horse and Foot to *Basing-stoke*, a good Market-Town two Miles from the House; leaving one hundred Foot to be led, by some Officers of the Garrison, to the Town of *Basing*, a Village but a Mile distant. In *Basing-stoke*, they found store of Wheat, Malt, Oats, Salt, Bacon, Cheese, and Butter; as much of which, was all that day sent to

the House, as they could find Carts or Horses to transport, together with fourteen Barrels of Powder, and some Musquets, and forty or fifty head of Cattle, with above one hundred Sheep: whilst the other Party, that went to *Basing*-Town, beat the Enemy that was Quartered there, after having killed forty or fifty of them; some fled into the Church, where they were quickly taken Prisoners; and, among them, two Captains, *Jarvis* and *Jephson*, the two eldest Sons of two of the greatest Rebels of that Country, and both Heirs to good Fortunes, who were carried Prisoners to *Basing*-House; the rest, who Besieged that side, being fled into a strong Fort which they had raised in the Park. The Colonel spent that, and the next day, in sending all manner of Provisions into the House; and then reasonably computing that the Garrison was well provided for two Months, he thought of his retreat to *Oxford*; which it was time to do: for besides that *Norton* had drawn all his Men together, who had been dismayed, with all the Troops, which lay Quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the House more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted, he was likewise well informed by the Persons he had employed, that the Enemy from *Abingdon* had lodged themselves at *Aldermaston*, and those from *Reading* and *Newbury*, in two other Villages upon the River *Kennet*; over which he was to pass.

Hereupon, that he might take away the Apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out Orders, which he was sure would come into the

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Enemies hands, to two or three Villages next the House, "that they should, by the next day noon, send such proportions of Corn into *Basing* House, as were mentioned in the Warrants; upon pain, if they failed by the time, to have a thousand Horse and Dragoons sent to fire the Towns." This being done, and all his Men drawn together about eleven of the Clock at Night, *Thursday* the second Night after he came thither, the Marquis giving him two or three Guides who knew the Country exactly, he marched from *Basing* without sound of Drum or Trumpet, and passed the *Kennet*, undiscovered, by a Ford near a Bridge which the Enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the Horse taking the Foot *en Groupe*; and then, marching by ways, in the Morning they likewise passed over the *Thames*, at a Ford little more than a Mile from *Reading*; and so escaped the Enemy, and got before Night to *Wallingford*; where he securely rested, and refreshed his Men that Night; and the next Day arrived safe at *Oxford*; having lost only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen; and Common-Men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously: what number the Enemy lost could not be known; but it was believed, they lost many, besides above one hundred Prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed, by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Soldierly an Action, as had been performed in the War on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the Commander.

The next day after the Army of *Essex* was gone,

and dissolved, the King returned to his Quarters at *Boconnocke*, and stayed there only a day to refresh his Men; having sent, the day before, *Greenvil*, with the *Cornish* Horse and Foot, towards *Plymouth*, to join with *Goring* in the pursuit of *Balfour*, and that Body of Horse; which, by passing over the Bridge near *Salt-ash*, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess *Salt-ash*, which the Enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of Cannon with some Arms and Ammunition; which, together with the Town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with *Goring*; who thereby, and for want of those Foot, excused his not Fighting with *Balfour* when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a Commanded Party to follow his Rear, and in that too eager a pursuit, Captain *Sam. Wainman*, a young Man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the Son of a very wise and eminent Father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a Noble Family. Thus *Balfour*, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred Miles in the King's Quarters, at hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehension of the Enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the King had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that Body of Foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their Arms; and so have made both Officers and Soldiers to become

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“ Prisoners of War: by which the Enemy would not have been able so soon to have raised another Army.” But they who undertook to censure that Action, how great a Number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the King’s Army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be: whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first entered *Cornwall*, which was in the beginning of *August*, and when a Party of his Majesty’s Horse surprised and seized the Earl of *Essex*’s own Lieutenant-Colonel, and many other Officers of Name at *Boconnocke*, before his Majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the Enemy was then in, the case was very much altered in the beginning of *September*, when the Articles were made; and when the number of the Foot who laid down their Arms, was in truth superior to those of the King’s (as it will appear anon) when his Army marched out of *Cornwall*. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their Horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the King’s Horse, his Guard only excepted, were at that time Quartered behind them, about *St. Blaise*, their Foot might very well have marched away with their Horse, their Cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscerned have done, the King’s Army in the Condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those inclosed parts, narrow Lanes,

and deep Ditches, in *Devon* and *Somerſet*, have been able to have done them little harm: Beſides the King very well knew at the time the Articles were made, that *Middleton*, notwithstanding all his Affronts, was then come to *Tiverton*; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majeſty, in thoſe condeſcenſions, proceeded with no leſs Prudence than Clemency.

After this great Succeſs, the King thought fit to renew his offer of Peace; and ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes of Parliament, to deſire that there might be a Treaty to that purpoſe; which Meſſage was ſent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Effex*, after his repair to *London*, to be delivered by him, of which there was no conſideration taken in three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was perſuaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon *Plymouth*; for ſo far it might be preſumed that the *Cornish* Troops, how impatient ſoever they were to be at their harveſt, would attend him: And if he could, by appearing before it, become Maſter of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to *Oxford* in great Triumph, and leave the Weſt thoroughly reduced: for then *Lyme* could not hold out, and he might be ſure to carry an Army with him ſtrongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of eaſe and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther ſtay; and he quickly found it neceſſary to do ſo; having ſent a Summons to the Town, and received a rude Answer to it:

For the Earl of *Effex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governor in that Town; a Man of a ſour and ſurly Nature, a great Opiniâtre, and one who muſt be

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The King
ſends a Meſſage
of Peace.

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The King
leaves Sir
Richard
Greenvil
to Block up
Plymouth.

overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require some time, pursued his former Resolution, and marched away; having committed the Blocking up of *Plymouth* to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of Assurance undertaken to take the Town by *Christmas*, if such Conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his Quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the Town; beginning his War first upon his Wife, who had been long in possession of her own Fortune, by virtue of a Decree in *Chancery*, many years before the Troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself Master of all Their Estates who were in the Service of the Parliament; without doing any thing of importance upon the Town; only upon the first Message between the Lord *Roberts* and Him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never Civility or Quarter observed between them; but such as were taken on either side, were put to the Sword; or which was worse, to the Halter.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this Gentleman, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, in the ensuing discourse, and because many Men believed, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the King's

Service some Months before the time We are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy Family in *Cornwal*, which had, in several Ages, produced Men of great Courage. and very signal in their Fidelity to, and Service of the Crown; and was Himself younger Brother (though in his Nature, or Humor, not of Kin to him) to the brave Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who so Courageously lost his Life in the Battle of *Lansdown*. Being a younger Brother, and a very young Man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the Profession of a Soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest General of that Age, Prince *Maurice*, in the Regiment of my Lord *Vere*, who was General of all the *English*. In that Service he was looked upon as a Man of Courage, and a diligent Officer, in the quality of a Captain, to which he attained after few years Service. About this time, in the end of the Reign of King *James*, the War broke out between *England* and *Spain*; and in the Expedition to *Cadiz*, this Gentleman served as a Major to a Regiment of Foot, and continued in the same Command, in the War that soon after followed against *France*; and, at the *Ile of Re*, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the General in that Invasion, and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made Colonel of a Regiment with general Approbation, and as an Officer that well deserved it.

His Credit every day increased with the Duke; who, out of the generosity of his Nature, as a most generous Person he was, resolved to raise his Fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his coun-

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tenance, and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich Widow to Marry him, who had been a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great Dower by her Husband, a younger Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*; yet she inherited a fair Fortune of her own, near *Plymouth*; and was besides very rich in a Personal Estate and was looked upon as the richest Match of the West. This Lady, by the Duke's Credit, Sir *Richard Greenvil* (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful Estate upon the Borders of his own Country; where his own Family had great Credit and Authority. The War being quickly at an end, and he deprived of his great Patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the Fortune of his Wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expense a Person of his Quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his Vanity and Ambition; nor so great as He, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her Fortune, he grew less pleased with his Wife; who, being a Woman of a Haughty and Imperious Nature, and of a Wit superior to His, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him; and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these Domestic unfociable Contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her Estate, as the Sole Master of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any Competency for herself; and indulged to himself all those Licences in her own House, which to Women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself

herself from him ; and was with all kindness received into that Family, in which she had before been Married , and was always very much respected. BOOK
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Her Absence was not ungrateful to him, till the Tenants refused to pay him any more Rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole Estate, which was all he had to live upon : for it appeared now, that she had, before her Marriage with him, settled her entire Fortune so absolutely upon the Earl of *Suffolk*, that the present right was in Him ; and he required the Rents to be paid to him. This begot a Suit in the Chancery between Sir *Richard Greenvil* and the then Earl of *Suffolk*, before the Lord *Coventry*, who found the Conveyances in Law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve Sir *Richard Greenvil* in Equity, but that in Justice he must Decree the Land to the Earl ; which he did. This very sensible Mortification transported him so much, that, being a Man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a Personal Conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious Language, as the Government, and Justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished ; and the Earl appealed for Reparation to the Court of Star-Chamber ; where Sir *Richard* was Decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him ; and was likewise fined the Sum of three thousand pounds to the King ; who gave the Fine likewise to the Earl : so that Sir *Richard* was committed to the Prison of the Fleet in Execution for the whole six thousand pounds ; which at that time was thought by all Men to be a very severe and

B O O K rigorous Decree, and drew a general Compassion
VIII. towards the unhappy Gentleman.

After he had endured many years of strict Imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late Troubles, he made his escape out of the Prison; and transporting himself beyond the Seas, remained there till the Parliament was called that produced so many Miseries to the Kingdom; and when he heard that many Decrees which had been made, in that time, by the Court of Star-Chamber, were repealed, and the Persons grieved, absolved from those Penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned to have his Cause heard; for which a Committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. Among the first Troops that were raised, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the Parliament (to whom the King had unhappily committed the prosecution of it) Sir *Richard Greenvil*, upon the same of being a good Officer, was sent over with a very good Troop of Horse; was Major of the Earl of *Leicester's* own Regiment of Horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the signal acts of Cruelty he did every day commit upon the *Irish*; which were of so many kinds upon both Sexes, Young and Old, hanging old Men who were Bedrid, because they would not discover where their Money was that he believed they had; and old Women, some of Quality, after he had plundered them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believed though notoriously known to be true.

After the Cessation was made in *Ireland*, he pretended that his Conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring so heartily against that Cessation; and Sir *William Waller* being in the beginning of this year to make his Expedition into the West, after the Battle of *Alresford*, Sir *Richard Greenville* was either commended to him, or invited by him, to Command the Horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his Interest in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, would advance Theirs. He received from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, for the making his Equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary Lustre; and Sir *William Waller* communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire Friend, and an Officer of that Eminence, by whose Advice he meant to govern his own Conduct.

His first and principal design was to surprize *Basing-House*, by a correspondence with the Lord *Edward Pawlet*, Brother to the Marquis of *Winchester*, and then with him, as unsuspected as a Brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, Sir *Richard Greenville* was sent before with a Body of the Horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time *Waller* himself should come to him. He appointed a Rendezvous for the Horse at *Bagshot*, and the same day marched out of *London* only with his Equipage; which was very Noble; a Coach and six Horses, a Waggon and six Horses, many Led-Horses, and many Servants: with those, when he

B O O K came to *Stanes*, he left the *Bagshot*-road, and marched
VIII. directly to *Reading*, where the King's Garrison then
 was; and thence, without delay, to *Oxford*, where
 he was very graciously received by the King, and the
 more, because he was not expected. He communicated
 then to the King the whole design, of the surprise of
Basing; upon which the King sent an Express imme-
 diately to the Marquis, with all the particular infor-
 mations; who thereupon seized upon his Brother,
 and the other Conspirators; who confessed all, with
 all the circumstances of the correspondence and
 combination. The Marquis prevailed with the King,
 that he might only turn his Brother out of the Garrison,
 after Justice was done upon his Complices. This very
 happy and seasonable discovery, preserved that
 important place; which, without it, had infallibly been
 lost within few days, and therefore could not but
 much endear the Person of the Discoverer; upon
 whom the Parliament thundered out all those re-
 proaches, which his deserting them in such a manner
 was liable to; and denounced all those judgments upon
 him of Attainder, Confiscation, and incapacity of
 Pardon, which they used to do against those, who,
 they thought, had done them most mischief, or against
 whom they were most incensed: which was all the
 excuse he could make for his severe proceedings
 against those of their Party, who fell into his hands
 afterwards where he Commanded.

From *Oxford* he went quickly into the West, before
 he had any Command there; declaring that he would
 assist Colonel *Digby*; who, upon Prince *Maurice's*
 departure from thence with his Army, was left to

Block up *Plymouth*; which he did with much Courage and Soldierly ability. To Him he had Letters from the King, that he should put Sir *Richard Greenvil* into the possession of his Wife's Estate, that lay within his Quarters, and which was justly liable to a Sequestration by her living in *London*, and being too zealously of that Party; which the Colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that Estate; which was what he most set his Heart upon.

One day he made a Visit from his House, which he called his own, to the Colonel; and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen Troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the Garrison, in their usual Excursions, might meet with him. In his return home, he saw four or five fellows, coming out of a Neighbour-Wood, with Burdens of Wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the Troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were Soldiers of the Garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own Life, he was contented to do; so strong his Appetite was to those Executions he had been accustomed to in *Ireland*, without any kind of Commission or pretence of Authority.

Shortly after, upon a Sally made with Horse and Foot from the Town, Colonel *Digby* (who besides the keenness of his Courage had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than some of his Family who had sharper Parts) Charging them with such vigor as Routed, and drove them back, received himself in the close an unhappy wound,

BOOK VIII. with a Rapier, in the Eye; which pierced near his Brain; so that, though he was brought off by his Soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the Air, and never did the effects of the Wound. Upon this accident Sir *Richard Grenvil* was placed in that Command, which he executed for some Months; until, upon the Advance of the Earl of *Effex*, he was compelled to retire into *Cornwall*, where We found him at the King's coming thither.

This so large excursion upon a private Person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much Animosity against the memory of a Man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's Service: But they who know the Occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the Prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the World, and prevailed with some good Men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the Council then about the Prince had some Personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe; that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a Man's Original, Nature, Manners, and Disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The King was now most intent to return into his Winter-Quarters at *Oxford*, which was all he could propose to himself; in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged Enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that *Weller* was even ready to come out of *London*, and

that *Middleton* was retired from *Tiverton* to join with him; that they had sent for the Earl of *Manchester* to march towards the West with his Victorious Army: So that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to Fight another Battle, before he could reach *Oxford*. Notwithstanding all which, his Army that had been upon hard duty; and had made long marches above six Months together, required some rest and refreshment; the Foot were without Clothes, and Shoes; and the Horse in such ill humor, that without Money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the King marched from *Plymouth*, himself, attended only by his own Troop, and the principal Officers of the Court; went to *Exeter*; appointing the Army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be Quartered at *Tiverton*, and the other Towns adjacent; where they arrived on the 21st of *September*.

His Majesty now quickly discerned how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and diminished his Army. His own Body of Foot, which when he entered *Cornwall*, were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince *Maurice's*, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the King first viewed them at *Kirton*, was not now half the Number. Of all the Forces under *Greenvil*, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the Name of an Army, there were only five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse left with him, for the Blocking up *Plymouth*; the rest were dwindled away; or else, which was

BOOK his usual Artifice, he had encouraged them to stay
VIII. for some time in *Cornwall*, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his Forces suddenly increased; and the truth is, few of the *Cornish* marched Eastward with the King. The King's Horse were harassed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the Riders; so that great Provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the Commissioners, appointed in *Devonshire* for those Affairs, his Majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in Money, which was presently distributed among the Horse; and three thousand Suits of Clothes, with good proportions of Shoes and Stockings; which were likewise delivered to the Foot. What remained yet wanting for the Horse and Foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into *Somersetshire*; where the Commissioners of that County, had undertaken they should be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the King left *Exeter*; which was, the Blocking up the Troops of *Lyme*; which were grown more insolent by the Success they had Had; and made Incursions sometimes even to the Walls of *Exeter*; and to restrain a stronger Garrison in *Taunton*. For when Prince *Maurice* raised his Siege from *Lyme*, he had very unhappily drawn out the Garrison of *Taunton*, which consisted of eight hundred Men, under the Command of Sir *John Stawel*, a Person of that Eminent Courage and Fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only four,

score Men in the Castle to be kept by a Lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as *Essex* in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffered Death. And it was now, by the Garrison the Earl put into it, and the extreme Malignity and Pride of the Inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a sharp Thorn in the sides of all that Populous County.

To remedy the first of these, some Troops which depended upon the Garrison of *Exeter*, were assigned, and were to receive Orders from Sir *John Berkeley*, Governor thereof; who was the more vacant for that Service by the reduction of *Barnstable*; which was done during the King's stay at *Exeter*. The other of *Taunton*, was more unhappily committed to Colonel *Windham*, the Governor of *Bridgewater*; who, though a Gentleman of known Courage and unquestionable Fidelity, by the Divisions and Factions in the Country, was not equal to the work. To despatch all this, the King staid not a full week at *Exeter*; but hastened his march to *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, where he staid longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached *Oxford*, before the Enemy was in a Conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the Money and Clothes (which the Commissioners of *Somersetshire* promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the Army.

It was the last of *September*, that the King marched from *Chard*; and Quartered that Night at a House

B O O K of the Lord *Pawlet's*, where Prince *Rupert* met him,
VIII. and gave him an account of the unhappy Affairs of
the North, and that he had left about two thousand
Horse under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Lang-*
dale; which he might as well have brought with
him, and then the King would have had a glorious
end of his Western Expedition. Prince *Rupert* pre-
sently returned to *Bristol*, with Orders, as soon as
was possible, to march with those Northern Horse
under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and two thousand
Foot, which were in *Wales*, under Colonel *Charles*
Gerrard, into *Glocestershire*; by which the Enemy
might be obliged to divide their Force, which if
they should still keep united, the Prince from thence
would be able to join with the King: But these
Orders were not executed in time. The King's
Army at this time consisted in the whole but of five
thousand five hundred Foot, and about four thou-
sand Horse; and *Waller* was already come with his
Horse to *Blandford*; but some of his Troops being
beaten up by those of the King's, he retired to *Shafts-*
bury, and those parts of *Wiltshire* adjacent. It con-
cerned the King very much, before he left those
parts, to Relieve *Portland-Castle*, which had been
now Besieged from the time of the Earl of *Essex's*
march that way. To that purpose, he marched to
Sherborne; where he staid six days too long, though
in that time he raised the Siege before *Portland-*
Castle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his
Nephew Prince *Rupert* would have been well advan-
ced in his march. Sir *Lewis Dives* was left with his
own Regiment of one hundred and fifty old Soldiers,

and some Horse in *Sherborne-Castle*, and made Commander in Chief of *Dorsetshire*; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity and the very good affection of that County, to raise Men enough to recover *Weymouth*: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His Majesty had a great desire, in his march to *Oxford*, to relieve *Donnington-Castle*, and *Basing*; which was again Besieged by almost the whole Army of the Enemy; and then to send a good Party to relieve *Banbury*, which had been close Besieged by Colonel *John Fiennes*, another Son of the Lord *Say*, with all the Forces of *Northamptonshire*, *Warwick*, and *Coventry*; and bravely defended by Sir *William Compton*, full three Months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

In order to preserve all this, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the fifteenth of *October*; where he understood, "that *Waller* lay at *Andover* with his Troops; that *Manchester* was advanced as far as *Reading* with five thousand Horse and Foot, and four-and-twenty pieces of Ordnance; and that four Regiments of the Trained-bands of *London*, were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the Horse and Foot of the Earl of *Essex's* Army were near *Portsmouth*, expecting Orders to join with the rest." This might very well have disposed his Majesty to have hastened his march to *Oxford*, which would have made a fair conclusion of the Campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the King received Letters from Prince *Rupert*, in which he declared, "that it was not

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BOOK VIII. "possible for him to bring up his Troops so soon as his Majesty expected;" and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolved, both *Donnington-Castle*, and *Banbury*, might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gaiety possessed *Goring*, that he earnestly advised the King to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat *Waller*; who lay at *Andover*, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand Horse and Dragoons; which the King, upon the unanimous consent of the Council, consented to.

He had left all the Cannon that he had taken from *Essex*, in *Exeter*; and now he sent all his great Cannon to a Garrison he had within two Miles of *Salisbury* at *Langford*, a House of the Lord *Gorges*; where was a Garrison of one hundred Men, Commanded by a good Officer. The rest of the Cannon and Carriages were left at *Wilton*, the House of the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Regiment of Foot to guard them; and the King appointed the Rendezvous for the Army to be the next Morning, by seven of the Clock, near *Clarendon-Park*; and good Guards were set at all the Avenues of the City, to keep all People from going out, that *Waller* might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the Rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was (though his Majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the Foot under Prince *Maurice* came not up till eleven of the Clock, so that the Army did not begin it's march till twelve, yet they came within four Miles of *Andover*, before *Waller* had any Notice

of their Motions; when he drew out his whole Body towards them; as if he meant to Fight; but upon view of their Strength, and the good Order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the Town; leaving a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van Charged, and Routed them with good Execution, and pursued them through the Town, and slew many of them in the Rear, until the darkness of the Night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the King Quartered that Night at *Andover*. The scattering this great Body under *Waller* in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the Spirits of the King's Army, that they desired nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline Fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolved to raise the Siege of *Donnington-Castle*, which was little out of his way to *Oxford*. To that purpose, he sent Orders for the Cannon which had been left at *Langford* and *Wilton*, to make allhaste to a place appointed between *Andover* and *Newbury*; where he staid with his Army, till they came up to him; and then marched together to *Newbury*, within a Mile of *Donnington*.

The Blockade of *Donnington-Castle* had been, (when *Middleton* from thence pursued his march into the West) left to the care of Colonel *Horton*; who for some time was contented to Block it up; but then finding his Summons neglected, and that they

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B O O K had store of Provisions within, and having an addition of Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*, he resolved to Besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of *September*; and made his Approaches, and raised a Battery on the foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and plied it so with his great Cannon, that, after twelve days continual shooting, he beat down Three Towers and a part of the Wall; which he believed had so humbled the Governor and the Garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another Summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, " to offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave " up the Castle before *Wednesday* at ten of the Clock " in the Morning; but if that his favor was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that " there should no Man amongst them have his " Life spared." The Governor made himself merry with his high and Threatening Language; and sent him word, " he would keep the place, and would " neither give nor receive Quarter." At this time the Earl of *Manchester* himself with his Forces came to *Newbury*; and receiving no better Answer to his own Summons, than *Horton* had done before, he resolved to Storm it the next day. But his Soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot Service; and plied it with their Artillery until the next Night; and then removed their Battery to the other side of the Castle; and begun their Approaches by Saps; when the Governor made a strong Sally, and beat them out of their

Trenches, and killed a Lieutenant-Colonel, who Commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers; shot their Chief-Cannoneer through the Head, brought away their Cannon-Baskets, and many Arms, and retired with very little loss: yet the next Night they finished their Battery: and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the Approach of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance, and their Trained-bands of *London* being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the Walls, without any other damage to the Garrison, than the beating down some old parts therefore.

When the King came to *Newbury*, the Governor of *Donnington* attended him; and was Knighted for his very good behaviour, and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the Enemy, that his Majesty thought not of prosecuting his Journey towards *Oxford*, before he should Relieve both *Basing* and *Banbury*. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of surrendering for want of Victuals, they having already eaten most of their Horses, his Majesty was well content that the Earl of *Northampton*, who had the Supreme Government of that Garrison, where he had left his brave Brother his Lieutenant, should, with three Regiments of Horse, attempt the relieving it; Letters being sent to *Oxford*, "that Colonel *Gage*, with "some Horse and Foot from thence, should meet "him;" which they did punctually; and came time

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Banbury.
Castle re-
lieved by the
Earl of
Northampton.

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enough to *Banbury* before they were expected: yet they found the Rebels Horse (Superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five Bodies on the South side of the Town, near their Sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to Fight. But two, or three shots, made at them by a Couple of Drakes brought from *Oxford* by Colonel *Gage*, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their Cannon and Baggage had been sent out of the Town the Night before; and their Foot, being above seven hundred, run out of *Banbury* upon the first advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* with the Foot went directly to the Castle, that they might be at Liberty; whilst the Earl of *Northampton* followed the Horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand; where he furiously Charged and Routed them; and, notwithstanding they had lined some Hedges with Musqueteers, pursued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed; their General, young *Fiennes*, continuing his flight, till he came to *Coventry*, without staying. The Foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the Inclosures, before Colonel *Gage* could come up. But there were taken, in the Chase, one Field-piece, and three Waggons of Arms and Ammunition; many slain; and two Officers of Horse, with near one hundred other Prisoners, four Cornets of Horse, and two hundred Horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one Captain and nine Troopers; some Officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the Siege was raised from *Banbury*; which had continued full thir-

teen

teen Weeks; so notably defended, that though they had but two Horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a Summons to be sent to them; and it was now Relieved the very day of the Month upon which both Town and Castle had been surrendered to the King two years before; being the 26th of October.

Though the Relief of *Banbury* succeeded to wish; yet the King paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that Service was performed, Colonel *Urry*, a Scots-man, who had formerly served the Parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal Service to the King, had in the West, about the time the King entered into *Cornwall* (in a discontented humor, which was very natural to him) desired a Pass to go beyond the Seas; and so quitted the Service: but instead of embarking himself, made haste to *London*; and put himself now into the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's army, and a description of the Persons and Customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution, and weakness of the King's Army, they had also Advertisement of the Earl of *Northampton's* being gone, with three Regiments of Horse, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within two days after, all those Forces which had been under *Essex* and *Waller*, being united with *Manchester* (with whom likewise the Trained-bands of *London* were now joined; all which made up a Body of above eight thousand Foot; the number of their Horse being not inferior) advanced towards the King, who had not half the

B O O K number before the departure of the Earl of *North-*
VIII: *ampton*, and stayed still at *Newbury* with a resolution
 to expect the return of that Earl, that he might like-
 wise do somewhat for *Basing*; not believing that the
 Enemy could be so soon united.

The second
 Battle of
 Newbury.

It was now too late to hope to make a Safe retreat
 to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemies
 Army, which had received positive Orders to Fight
 the King as soon as was possible, appeared as near as
Thackham; so that his Majesty not at all dismayed,
 resolved to stand upon the Defensive only; hoping
 that, upon the advantage he had of the Town of
Newbury and the River, the Enemy would not speed-
 ily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being
 compelled to lodge in the Field, which grew now to
 be very Cold, whilst his Army was under cover,
 they might be forced to retire. The King Quartered
 in the Town of *Newbury*; and placed strong Guards
 on the South of the Town: but the greatest part of
 the Army was placed towards the Enemies Quarters,
 in a good House belonging to Mr. *Doleman* at *Shaw*,
 and in a Village near it, defended by the River that
 runs under *Donnington*-Castle, and in a House be-
 tween that Village and *Newbury*, about which a
 Work was cast up, and at a Mill upon the River of
Kennet; all which lay almost East from the Town.
 Directly North from thence were two open Fields,
 where most of the Horse stood with the Train of
 Artillery, and about half a mile West, was the Village
 of *Speen*; and beyond it a small Heath. In this Village
 lay all Prince *Maurice's* Foot, and some Horse, and at
 the Entrance of the Heath a work was cast up, which
 cleared the Heath. In this posture they had many

Skirmishes with the Enemy for two days, without BOOK
losing any ground; and the Enemy was still beaten VIII.
off with loss.

On *Sunday* Morning, the seven-and-twentieth of *October*, by the break of day, one thousand of the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, with the Trained-bands of *London*, came down the Hill; and passed the River that way by *Shaw*; and, undiscovered, forced that Guard which should have kept the Pass near the House; that was entrenched where Sir *Bernard Aspley* lay; who instantly, with a good Body of Musqueteers, fell upon the Enemy; and not only Routed them, but compelled them to Rout two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the Enemy were slain, and many drowned in the River, and above two hundred Arms taken. There continued, all that day, very warm Skirmishes in several parts; the Enemies Army having almost encompassed the King's; and with much more loss to Them, than to the King; till, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Forces which had been under *Essex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and passed the River; which was not well defended by the Officer who was appointed to guard it with Horse and Foot, very many of them being gone off from their Guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a Quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the River, they marched in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot, winged with Horse, towards the Heath; from whence the Horse which

B O O K were left there, with too little resistance, retired;
VIII. being in truth much overpowered, by reason the Major part of them, upon confidence of security of the Pass, were gone to provide Forage for their Horſe.

By this means, the Enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of the Ordnance which had been planted there; and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retired to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which they made good: at the ſame time, the right Wing of the Enemies Horſe advanced under the Hill of *Speen*, with one hundred Muſqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horſe ſtood; which at firſt received them in ſome diſorder; but the Queen's Regiment of Horſe, commanded by Sir *John Cansfield*, charged them with ſo much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein moſt of the Muſqueteers were ſlain, and very many of the Horſe; inſomuch that that whole Wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the Lords, and other his Servants, in the middle of that Field; and could not, by his own Preſence, reſtrain thoſe Horſe which at the firſt approach of the Enemy were in that diſorder, from ſhamefully giving Ground. So that if Sir *John Cansfield* had not, in that Article of Time, given them that briſk Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the flank, the King himſelf had been in very great danger.

At the ſame time, the left Wing of the Enemies

Horse advanced towards the North-side of the great Field; but before they got thither, *Goring* with the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, Charged them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a Hedge; and following them, was Charged by another fresh Body; which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the Enemy upon the place; having not only Routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the Earl of *Cleveland's* Horse falling under him, he was taken Prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred Horse, and three thousand Foot, of those under the Earl of *Manchester*, advanced with great Resolution upon *Shaw-House*, and the Field adjacent; which quarter was defended by Sir *Jacob Astley*, and Colonel *George Lisle*; and the House, by Lieutenant-Colonel *Page*. They came singing of Psalms; and, at first, drove forty Musqueteers from a Hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently Charged by Sir *John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another Body of their Horse ready to Charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in Mr. *Doleman's* Garden, which flanked that Field, and give fire upon those Horse, whereof very many fell; and the Horse thereupon Wheeling about, Sir *John Brown* fell upon their Rear, killed many, and kept that Ground all the day; when the Reserve of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Thelwell*, galled their Foot with several

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Vollies; and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Musquets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, some Colors, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time, a great Body of their Foot attempted Mr. *Doleman's* House, but were so well entertained by Lieutenant-Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such Confusion, that he pursued them from the House with a notable Execution; inso-much that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two Drakes out of the Field to the House, the Enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that Quarter.

It was now night; for which neither Party was sorry; and the King, who had been on that side where the Enemy only had prevailed, thought that his Army had suffered alike in all other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next Morning, to have compassed him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his Majesty, with the Prince, and those Lords who had been about him all the day, and his Regiment of Guards, retired into the Fields under *Donnington*-Castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the great Advantage the Enemy had in numbers, with which he was

like to be encompassed, if his Forces were beaten from either of the Posts. That resolution was, "to march away in the night towards *Wallingford*;" and to that purpose, all the Carriages, and great Ordnance, had been that Morning drawn under *Donnington-Castle*; so he sent Orders to all the Officers, to draw off their Men to the same Place; and receiving Intelligence at that time that Prince *Rupert* was come, or would be that night at *Bath*, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his Army, his Majesty himself, with the Prince, and about three hundred Horse, made haste thither; and found Prince *Rupert* there; and thence made what haste they could back towards *Oxford*. The truth is, the King's Army was not in so ill a condition, as the King conceived it to have been: that Party which were in the Field near *Speen*, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair Moon-shine night, the Enemy, that was very near them, and much Superior in Number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the Enemy that had been so roughly treated at *Shaw*, having received Succour of a strong Body of Horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the Foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their Hill, where they stood still. This was the last Action between the Armies; for about ten of the Clock at night, all the Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders, drew forth their several Guards to the death about *Donnington-Castle*; in which they left most of their

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B O O K wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Carriage; then Prince *Maurice*, and the other Officers, marched in good Order away to *Wallingford*, committing the bringing up the Rear to Sir *Humphrey Bennet* (who had behaved himself very Signally that day) who with his Brigade of Horse marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the Enemy; who, in so light a Night, could not but know of the Retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them so ill. By the Morning, all the Army, Foot as well as Horse, arrived at *Wallingford*; where having Refreshed a little, they marched to *Oxford*, without seeing any Party of the Enemy that looked after them.

Many made a Question which Party had the better of the Day; and neither was well enough satisfied with their Success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; whereof were missing, only Sir *William St. Leger*-Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's Regiment of Foot; Lieutenant-Colonel *Topping*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Leake*, both Officers of Horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred Common-Soldiers, in all places. The Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, was wounded on the head; Sir *John Cansfield*, Sir *John Grenvil*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Page*, were wounded; but all recovered. The officers of the Enemies side were never talked of, being for the most part, of no better Families than the Common-Soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the Action in

all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: yet because the King's Army quitted the Field, and marched away in the Night, the other side thought themselves Masters; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their usual Triumphs; though, within few days after, they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagined, that the Earl of *Brentford* remained that night in the Castle, by reason of the hurt in his Head, and so sent Colonel *Urry* to him to persuade him to give up the Castle, and to make him other large Offers; all which the General rejected with the Indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the Colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his Life for, and in the King's Service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind Reflections.

The next day, when they knew that the King's Army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Donnington-Castle*, and summoned the Governor "to deliver it to them, or " else they would not leave one Stone upon another." To which the Governor made no other reply, than " that he was not bound to repair it; but however " he would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards:" seeing his obstinacy, they offered him " to march away with the Arms, and all things belonging to the Garrison;" and, when that moved not, " that he should carry all the Cannon, and Ammunition with him;" to all which he Answered,

B O O K " that he wondered they would not be satisfied with
VIII. " so many Answers that he had sent," and desired them " to be assured, that he would not go out of " the Castle, till the King sent him Order so to do." Offended with these high Answers, they resolved to Assault it; but the Officer who commanded the Party, being killed with some few of the Soldiers; they retired; and never after made any attempt upon it: but remained quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction among themselves; every Man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's Service.

The King met Prince *Rupert*, as he expected, with Colonel *Gerrard*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; and made all the haste he could to join those Forces with his own Army, that so he might march back to *Newbury*, and disengage his Cannon, and Carriages. By the way he met the Earl of *Northampton*, and those Regiments which had Relieved *Banbury*; and having with marvellous Expedition caused a new Train of Artillery to be formed, he brought his Army again to a Rendezvous on *Bullington-Green*; where, with the Addition of those Forces, and some Foot, which he drew out of *Oxford*, under the Command of Colonel *Gage*, it appeared to be full six thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse; with which he marched to *Wallingford*; and within a day more than a Week after he had left *Donnington-Castle*, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolved not to decline Fighting with the Enemy; but would be first possessed of his Cannon, and put some Provision into the Castle; which he accomplished without any opposition.

The King
relieves Don-
nington-
Castle.

The Enemies Army lay still at *Newbury*, perplexed with the Divisions and Factions among their own Officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a Quarter of their Horse was beaten up. The next Morning, the King put his Army into Battalia; Prince *Rupert*, who was now declared General, led the Van; and got possession of the Heath, on the back-side of the Castle; from which a small Party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrower. On that Heath, the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, every one being prepared to fight; and none of the Enemy appearing, they marched by the Castle over the River by a Mill, and two Fords below it, without any opposition; and thence drew into the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which was thought a good place to expect the Enemy; who, in the meantime, had drawn a great Body of their Horse and Foot into the other Field toward *Shaw*, and had made Breast-works and Batteries on the back-side of *Newbury*; which Town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the King had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer Lodging, might better attack the King after his Men had lain a night or two in the Fields; it being now the Mouth of *November*, but fair for that Season. Some light Skirmishes passed between the Horse, but when the King saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to fight, he called his Council together; who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had
" Relieved the Castle, and put sufficient Provisions
" into it, and that it was in his power to draw off his

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“ Ordnance and Ammunition from thence, he had
“ done his business; and if any Honor had been lost
“ the other day, it was regained now, by his having
“ passed his Army over the River in the face of
“ Theirs, and offered them Battle; which they durst
“ not accept.” Upon which the King resolved to
attempt them no farther, but gave Orders to retire in
their view, with Drums Beating and Trumpets
Sounding, the same way he came over the River. So
the King lay that night at *Donnington-Castle*, and all
the Army about him.

The King had not yet done all he meant to do,
before he took up his Winter-Quarters; and was
willing, that the Enemy should have an opportunity
to Fight with him, if they desired it: And therefore,
on the *Sunday* morning the tenth of *November*, his
Majesty marched with all his Cannon and Ammu-
nition over the Heath from *Donnington*, over a fair
Campaign, to *Lamborne*; in which march, some of
the Enemies Horse attempted his Rear, but were re-
pulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken
Prisoners. There the King Quartered that night, and
the next day, to refresh his Men, for the ill Lodging
they had endured at *Donnington*; having sent some
Persons of great Reputation and Interest to *Marl-*
borough, to make large provisions for Him, and his
Army. And then, since he heard the Enemy lay still
at *Newbury*, he marched to *Marlborough*; where he
found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon
the relief of *Basing*, which was now again distressed;
the Enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely
from the time that *Gage* had relieved it. He had a

great mind to do it with his whole Army; that thereby he might draw the Enemy to a Battle: but, upon full Debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way would be to do it by a strong Party; that one thousand Horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Provisions, and march so as to be at *Basing-House* the next morning after they parted from the Army; and then every Trooper was to cast down his Bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might:" And Colonel *Gage*, who had so good success before, was appointed to Command this Party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought the fitter place to Quarter with the Army, and from thence to despatch that Party: so his Majesty marched back to *Hungerford*, which was half way to *Newbury*: the Enemy was in mean time marched from thence to *Basing*; which, they thought, would, upon the sight of their whole Army, presently have yielded; but finding the Marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the Winter-War, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the Siege the very day before *Gage* came thither; so that he easily delivered his Provisions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience. His Majesty then marched to *Farrington*, with some hope to have surprised *Abingdon* in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had considered where to Quarter his Horse, which had formerly had their head-Quarter at *Abingdon*, and those places which were now under the power of that Governor, he

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The King
returns to
Oxford.

returned to *Oxford*; where he arrived to the universal Joy, on the three-and-twentieth of *November*; a Season of the year fit for all the Troops to be in their Winter-Quarters.

The King was exceedingly pleased to find how much the Fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the Lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the Governor Sir *Arthur Aston*, having, some Months before, in the Managing his Horse in the Fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his own Leg, and, shortly after, been compelled to cut it off; so that, if he recovered at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active Service; his Majesty resolved to confer that Government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favor, and sending him a Warrant for one thousand pounds a year Pension for his Life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all Men, he conferred that Government upon Colonel *Gage*; whom he had before Knighted. Sir *Arthur Aston* was so much displeased with his Successor, that he besought the King to confer that Charge upon any other Person; and when he found that his Majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some Lords to come to him, who he thought were most Zealous in Religion, and desired them to tell the King from him, "that though he was himself a Roman-Catholic, he " had been very careful to give no scandal to his " Majesty's Protestant Subjects; and could not but " inform him, that *Gage* was the most Jesuited Papist

“ alive; that he had a Jesuit who lived with him; B O O K
 “ and that he was present at all the Sermons among VIII,
 “ the Catholics; which he believed would be very
 “ much to his Majesty’s disservice.” So much his
 Passion and Animosity over-ruled his Conscience.

The King liked the choice he had made; and only advised the new Governor, by one of his Friends, “ to have so much discretion in his Carriage, that “ there might be no notice taken of the Exercise of “ his Religion;” to which animadversion he Answered, “ that he never had dissembled his Religion, “ nor ever would; but that he had been so wary in “ the Exercise of it, that he knew there could be no “ Witness produced, who had ever seen him at “ Mass in *Oxford*; though he heard Mass every day; “ and that he had never been but once at a Sermon; “ which was at the Lodging of Sir *Arthur’s* Daughter; “ to which he had been invited with great import- “ tunity; and believed now that it was to entrap “ him.” But the poor Gentleman enjoyed the Office very little time; for within a Month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down *Culham-Bridge* near *Abingdon*, where he intended to erect a Royal Fort, that should have kept that Garrison from that side of the Country; he was shot through the Heart with a Musquet-Bullet. Prince *Rupert* was present at the Action, having approved, and been much pleased with the design; which was never pursued after his death: and in truth the King sustained a wonderful loss in his death; he being a Man of great wisdom and temper; and one among the very few Soldiers, who made himself to be Universally loved and esteemed.

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Though the King's Condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the Summer, he had reason to expect (he had broken, and defeated two Armies of the Parliament, and returned into his Winter-Quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his Forces) yet his necessities were still the same, and the Fountains dried up from whence he might expect Relief; his Quarters shortened, and lessened by the loss of the whole North: for after the Battle of *York*, the *Scots* returned to Reduce *New-Castle*; which they had already done; and all other Garrisons which had held out for the King; and when that Work should be thoroughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that Army should again move Southward, and take such other Places, as the Parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

The Temper
of the Army,
and Court at
this time.

The King's Army was less united than ever; the old General was set aside, and Prince *Rupert* put into the Command, which was no Popular Change: for the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no oversights in his Conduct; was willing to hear every thing Debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable Opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any Action he was sprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was Rough, and Passionate, and loved not Debate; liked what was proposed, as he liked the Persons who proposed it; and was so great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colepepper*, who were only present in Debates of the War with the Officers, that he crossed

all

all they proposed. The truth is, all the Army had been disposed, from the first raising it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council; and the King himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the Respect due to it; in which he lessened his own Dignity.

Goring, who was now General of the Horse, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert*, than *Wilmot* had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the Officers. *Wilmot* loved Debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. *Goring* had a much better Understanding, and a sharper Wit (except in the very exercise of Debauchery, and then the other was inspired) a much keener Courage, and presentness of Mind in danger: *Wilmot* discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declined it; and never drank when he was within distance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to resist the Temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a Victory: as, in one of those fits, he had suffered the Horse to escape out of *Cornwall*; and the most signal Misfortunes of his Life in War, had their rise from that uncontrollable Licence. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any Rules of Honor, or Integrity; but *Wilmot* violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit, or convenience to himself; *Goring* without scruple, out of Humor, or for Wit's sake; and loved no Man so well, but that he would

B O O K cozen him, and then expose him to Public Mirth
VIII. for having been cozened: therefore he had always fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleased the Company better. The Ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained by any respect to good Nature or Justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross, or foul Act of wickedness; *Goring* could have passed through those pleasantly; and would, without hesitation, have broken any Trust, or done any Act of Treachery to have satisfied an ordinary passion, or appetite; and in truth, wanted nothing but Industry (for he had Wit, and Courage, and Understanding, and Ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God, or Man) to have been as eminent, and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any Man in the Age he lived in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Dissimulation was his Master-piece; in which he so much excelled, that Men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

The Court was not much better disposed than the Army; they who had no Preferment, were angry with those who had; and thought they had not deserved so well as themselves: They who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the Titles they had received upon their own violent Importunity.

So that the King was without any joy in the Favors he had conferred, and yet was not the less solicited to grant more to others of the same kind; who, he foresaw, would be no better pleased than the rest: and the pleasing one Man this way, displeased one hundred; as his Creating the Lord *Colepepper* at this time, and making him a Baron (who in truth had served him with great Abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it) did much dissatisfy both the Court, and the Army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no Ornament of Education, to make Men the more propitious to his parts of Nature; and disposed many others to be very importunate to receive the same Obligation.

There had been another Counsel entered upon, and concluded with great Deliberation and Wisdom, which turned at this time to his Majesty's disadvantage; which was the Cessation in *Ireland*; entered into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope, to have made a good Peace there, and so to have had the Power of that united Kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the Rebellion in this. But now, as all the Supplies he had received from thence upon the Cessation, had been already destroyed without any benefit to the King, so his Majesty found, that he should not be able to make a Peace there; and then the Government there would be in the worse condition by being deprived of so many good Officers, and Soldiers, upon the conclusion of the Cessation. There had been Commissioners from that time sent over to the King from

B O O K the Confederate Roman-Catholics, to treat a Peace;
VIII. the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, had sent likewise Commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be considered in the Treaty; and the Parliament which was then sitting in *Ireland*, had sent likewise Commissioners, in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace; and with a Petition to dissolve the Cessation that had been made.

Propositions
 from Ireland,
 rejected by the
 King.

The Commissioners from the Confederate Roman Catholics demanded "the Abrogation, and Repeal of all those Laws, which were in force against the Exercise of the Roman Religion: That the Lieutenant, or Chief-Governor, should be a Roman-Catholic; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that Religion should not be capable of any Preferment in the Kingdom, as well as the Protestants;" together with the Repeal of several Laws, which that Nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

The Commissioners from the State (whereof some were of the Privy-Council) professed "that they desired a Peace might be made;" but proposed in order, as they said, to the security of the Kingdom, "that all the *Irish* might be Disarmed; and such among them, as had been most signal and barbarous in the Massacres in the beginning of the Rebellion, might be excepted from Pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigor of Law: That the Laws might be put in Execution against all Roman-Catholics, and especially against all Jesuits, Priests, and Friars; and that they might be obliged

“ to pay all the Damages which had been sustained
 “ by the War.”

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The Commissioners from the Protestants demanded “ that the Cessation might be dissolved, and the
 “ War carried on with the utmost Rigor, according
 “ to the Act of Parliament that had been made in the
 “ beginning of the Rebellion; and that no Peace
 “ might be made on any Conditions.”

The King demanded of the *Irish*, “ whether they
 “ believed it could be in his Power, if it were agree-
 “ able to his Conscience, to grant them their De-
 “ mands? and whether he must not thereby purchase
 “ *Ireland* with the loss of *England* and *Scotland*?”

There were among them some sober Men, who confessed “ that as his Majesty’s Affairs then stood, they
 “ believed he could not grant it; and they hoped,
 “ that their General-Assembly would, when they
 “ should be informed of the truth of his Majesty’s
 “ Condition, which was not known to them, be
 “ persuaded to depart from some of their Demands;
 “ but that, for the present, they had not Authority
 “ to recede from any one Proposition.”

The King then asked the Commissioners who had been sent over by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the Kingdom, “ which Forces they thought
 “ to be the stronger, the King’s Army, or that of
 “ the Rebels;” they confessed “ the Rebels to be
 “ much superior in Power, and that they were pos-
 “ sessed of more than three parts of the Kingdom.”
 The King then asked them, “ whether they thought
 “ it probable, now they found themselves to be the
 “ Stronger, that the Rebels would be persuaded to

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“ yield to so disadvantageous terms, as they proposed, and to be so wholly at the Mercy of those whom they had so much provoked? and if they could be so disposed, whether they believed that they were able, though they should be willing, to sell all they have in *Ireland* to pay the Damages which had been sustained by the War?” The Commissioners acknowledged, “ that they thought the last impossible; and that there might be a mitigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst not advise his Majesty to recede at all; for that there could be no other security for the Protestants in that Kingdom, but by leaving the *Irish* without any capacity, or ability to Trouble them: for their perfidiousness was such, that they could not be trusted; and therefore they must be put into such a Condition, by being totally Disarmed, that they should not be able to do any Mischief; or that all the Protestants must leave the Kingdom to the entire possession of the *Irish*; and whether that would be for his Majesty’s Service and Security, they must refer to his own Wisdom.”

The King then sent for the Commissioners from the Parliament, on the behalf of the Protestants, and asked them, “ whether they were ready, if the Cessation were expired, to renew the War, and to prosecute it hopefully, to the Reduction or Suppression of the *Irish*?” They answered very clearly, “ that in the State they were in, they could not carry on the War, or defend themselves against the *Irish*, who were much Superior to them in Power; but if his Majesty would recruit his Army,

“ and send over Money, and Arms, and Ammunition, with Shipping, they made no doubt, but with God’s blessing, they should be able shortly to reduce them, and drive them out of the Kingdom.” The King then asked them, “ whether they did in truth think, that his Majesty was able to send them such Supplies as they stood in need of? or whether they did not, in their Consciences, know, that he was not able to send them any part of it, and stood in want of all for his own Support? They answered, that they hoped he would make a Peace with the Parliament, and would then be able to send over such Assistance to *Ireland*, as would quickly settle that Kingdom.”

But after all these discourses, his Majesty prevailed not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their Demands; whereupon he dismissed them; and told the *Irish*, “ it had been in their Power so far to have obliged him, that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have gratified them in some particulars, which were not now seasonable to have been done; but they would repent this their senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a Power that would destroy them, and make them cease to be a Nation.

So they all left *Oxford*, and his Majesty, notwithstanding all this Resolution, not to depart from any thing, that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, found that he suffered under no reproach more in *England*, than by having made that Cessation: so wonderfully

BOOK VIII. unreasonable was the generality of the Nation then by the absurd imputation of his Majesty's favoring the *Jish*.

The starts in which the King now was, brought him to some reflections he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next Summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertained. His three younger Children were taken from the Governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament-Quarters, but expressly by their Order, put into the Custody of One in whom the King could have the less confidence, because it was One in whom the Parliament confided so much. He had with him the Prince, and the Duke of York, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the Prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what Governour, or Servants he put about him; resolving to form his Manners by his own Model. But now he began to say "that Himself and the Prince were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight;" but communicated these thoughts only with the Lord Digby, the Lord Colepepper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the Lord Colepepper upon the Subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he then conferred with no body. There was but

one Province in which the Prince could reside, after he was severed from the King; and that was the *West*; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the Rebels being possessed of *Taunton* one of the chief-Towns in *Somersetshire*; and though it was an open, and unfortified place, it was very strong against the King. in the natural disaffection of the Inhabitants, which were very numerous; and all the places adjacent of the same ill Principles; and *Waller* had already sent some Troops thither to confirm them in their Rebellious Inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a Body sufficient to form an Army for the reduction of the *West*: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the *Scots-Army*, upon the recovery of all the North, had shaken and terrified all the Kingdom; and the King's Army was the last Enemy the *West* had been acquainted with, and had left no good Name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, *Goring* (who had now made a fast friendship with the Lord *Digby*; either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the Engagement) was sent with some Troops to *Salisbury*, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of *Waller*; without which, *Taunton* would be in a short time reduced by the Garrisons the King had in the Country: so that this alteration rather confirmed, than diverted his Majesty, in his thoughts of sending the Prince thither: and he begun to publish his purpose, and named Counsellors to be with his Highness, by whose Advice all things should be done; his Ma-

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A Council
settled for
the Prince
of Wales.

Majesty's purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the Prince should go no farther West than *Bristol*; and that there might no jealousies arise from this Action (which every Body knew was so far from the King's former purpose; and it might be imagined, that his Highness would be sent to the Queen his Mother into *France*; which many unreasonably apprehended) the King declared what Council he intended should be about his Son; the Reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the Prince's Lodging, to consider with his Highness, what preparations should be made for his Journey, and in what manner his Family should be established." There was one Person more, who of necessity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of *Berkshire*, his Governor; and then his Majesty found, what wrong Measures he had taken in the conferring that Trust; and lamented his own error to those he trusted; but knew not how to prevent the Inconveniences that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great Inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the Prince's Reverence, and Esteem for his Governor; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the Governor without any more Authority, than every one of the Council had; and so much less, as the Prince had a better esteem of every one of Them, than he had of Him-

and so left him without a Governor, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of *Berkshire* too. 800 x VIII.

When the King was in this Melancholie posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear that the disorder the Parliament was in, was Superior to His. The Cause of all the Distractions in his Court, or Army, proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his Majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of Money would, in a Moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the Wealth of the Kingdom, for they were well nigh possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole Government of the Parliament: for all the personal Animosities imaginable broke out in their Councils, and in their Armies; and the House of Peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power, or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons. Divisions amongst those at Westminister.

That violent Party, which had at first cozened the rest into the War, and afterwards obstructed all the Approaches towards Peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with, could be applied to; and what remained to be done, must be despatched by new Workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the Earl of *Essex*, and He as much with Them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the King. They bore the loss and dishonor he had sustained in *Cornwall*, very well; and would have been glad, that both He and his Army had been

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quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for most of his Officers and Soldiers, were corrupted in their Affections towards them; and desired nothing but Peace: so that they resolved never more to trust, or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom they depended as a fast Friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the Earl of *Essex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appeared now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between Him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought some Counsels upon the Stage, before they were ripe:

Cromwell accused the Earl of *Manchester*, "of having
" betrayed the Parliament out of Cowardice; for that
" he might, at the King's last being at *Newbury*, when
" he drew off his Cannon, very easily have defeated
" his whole Army, if he would have permitted it to
" have been engaged: that he went to him, and show-
" ed him evidently how it might be done; and desired
" him that he would give him leave, with his own
" Brigade of Horse, to Charge the King's Army in
" their Retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his
" Army, might look on, and do as he should think
" fit; but that the Earl had notwithstanding all im-
" portunity used by him and other Officers, positive-
" ly and obstinately refused to permit him; giving
" no other reason, but that, he said, if they did
" engage, and overthrow the King's Army, the
" King would always have another Army to keep
" up the War; but if that Army which he Com-

“manded, should be overthrown, before the other
 “under the Earl of *Essex* should be reinforced, there
 “would be an end of their pretences; and they
 “should be all Rebels, and Traytors, and executed
 “and forfeited by the Law. B O O K
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This pronounciation what the Law would do against them, was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believed the Law to be against them, after so many Declarations made by them, “that the Law
 “was on Their side, and that the King’s Arms were
 “taken up against the Law.” The Earl confessed
 “he had used words to that effect, that they should
 “be treated as Traytors, if their Army was Defeated,
 “when he did not approve the advice that was
 “given by the Lieutenant-General; which would
 “have exposed the Army to greater hazard, than he
 “thought seasonable in that Conjunction, in the
 “middle of the Winter, to expose it to.” He then recriminated *Cromwell*, “that, at another time, *Crom-*
 “*well* discoursing freely with him of the State of the
 “Kingdom,” and proposing somewhat to be done,
 the Earl had Answered, “that the Parliament would
 “never approve it;” to which *Cromwell* presently
 replied, “My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest
 “Men, you shall find yourself in the head of an
 “Army that shall give the Law to King and Parlia-
 “ment; which discourse, he said, made great im-
 “pression in him; for he knew the Lieutenant-
 “General to be a Man of very deep designs; and
 “therefore he was the more careful to preserve an
 “Army, he yet thought was very faithful to the
 “Parliament.”

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This discourse startled those who had always an aversion to *Cromwell*, and had observed the fierceness of his Nature, and the Language he commonly used when there was any mention of Peace; so that they desired that this matter might be thoroughly examined, and brought to Judgment. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the Earl of *Manchester*, than to have the other matter examined; which would unavoidably have made some discoveries they were not ready to produce. However the Animosities increased, and the Parties appeared barefaced against each other; which augmented the distractions, and divided the City as well as the Parliament; and new opinions started up in Religion; which made more subdivisions; and new terms and distinctions were brought into discourse; and *Fanatics* were now first brought into appellation: which kind of confusions exceedingly disposed Men of any sober understanding, to wish for Peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

The *Scottish* Commissioners were as jealous, and as unsatisfied as any other Party; and found, since the Battle of *York*, neither their Army, nor themselves so much considered, as before; nor conditions performed towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of *Cromwell*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, and all that Party; which they saw increased every day; and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their sacred Vow and Covenant was mentioned with less reverence, and respect, and the Independents, which comprehended

many Sects in Religion, spake publicly against it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane* were the Leaders; with very many of their Clergy-Men, who were the most Popular Preachers, and in the Assembly of Divines had great Authority: so that the *Scots* plainly perceived, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the Church of *England*, as their desired; they should never be able to Establish they Presbyterian Government; without which they should lose all their Credit in their own Country, and all their Interest in *England*. They discerned likewise, that there was a purpose, if that Party prevailed, to change the whole Frame of the Government, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, and to reduce the Monarchy to a Republic; which was as far from the end and purpose of that Nation, as to restore Episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the Mischief and Confusion that would fall out, but by a Peace; which they begun heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that Party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a Treaty on foot, they knew not.

The House of Peers, three or four Men excepted, wished it; but had no power to compass it. In the House of Commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the Courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolved to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a Proposition for a Treaty, if the King desired it, but that it would be dishonorable, and of very pernicious consequence to the Nation, if the Parliament first pro-

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posed it." So that it seemed evident, that if any of the Party which did in truth desire Peace, should propose it to the Parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of Honor, by many of those who in their hearts prayed for it.

They tried their old Friends of the City, who had served their Turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a Petition, by which the Parliament should be moved, "to send to the King to Treat of Peace." But that design was no sooner known but others of an opposite Party were appointed to set a counter-Petition on foot, by which they should "disclaim any Consent to, or Approbation of the other Petition; not that they did not desire Peace, as much as their Neighbours (no body was yet arrived at the impudence to profess against Peace) but that they would not presume to move the Parliament in it, because they knew, their wisdom knew best the way to obtain it, and would do what was necessary and fit towards it; to which they wholly left it."

This Petition found more Countenance among the Magistrates, the Mayor, and Aldermen; Sir *Henry Vane* having diligently provided, that Men of his own Principles and Inclinations, should be brought into the Government of the City; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable Peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two Houses to propose it to the King, that they resolved, "it could only rise from his Majesty; and to that purpose they should

“ should labor with their several Friends at *Oxford*,
 “ to incline the King to send a Message to the Parlia-
 “ ment, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any place
 “ where they should appoint; and then they would
 “ all run the utmost hazard before it should be re-
 “ jected.”

The Independent Party (for under that Style and Appellation they now acted, and owned themselves) which feared and abhorred all Motions towards Peace, were in as great straits as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were resolved to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aside, was the difficulty; especially the Earl of *Essex*, who had been so entirely their Founder, that they owed not more to the Power and Reputation of Parliament, than to His sole Name, and Credit: the being able to raise an Army, and conducting it to Fight against the King was purely due to Him, and the effect of His Power. And now to put such an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, must appear the highest Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army itself, where he was still exceedingly beloved; and to continue him in that Trust, was to betray their own Designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to extricate and disentangle themselves out of this Labyrinth, they made no advance towards the Recruiting or Supplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter-Expedition; only they sent *Waller* out, with such Troops towards the West, as they cared not for, and resolved to use their Service no more.

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They knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the Parliament; and of all Men, the *Scottish* Commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolved to pursue the Method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare, and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses (and in those Combinations they were always unanimous) "that they would have a Solemn " Fast-Day, in which they would *seek God*" (which was the new phrase they brought from *Scotland* with their Covenant) "and desire his Assistance, to lead " them out of the perplexities they were in:" and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the Preachers who were to perform that Exercise, and who were more Trusted in the deepest Designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a Schism among their Clergy, as well as the Laity; and the Independents were the Bolder, and more Political Men.

When the Fast-Day came (which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the Churches) the Preachers prayed "the Parliament might be inspired " with those thoughts, as might contribute to their " Honor and Reputation; and that they might pre- " serve that opinion the Nation had of their Honesty " and Integrity, and be without any Selfish ends, or " seeking their own Benefit and Advantage." After this preparation by their Prayers, the Preachers, let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was no wonder there was such

" Division among them in their Counfels, when
 " there was no Union in their hearts: That the
 " Parliament lay under many reproaches, not only
 " among their Enemies, but with their beft Friends;
 " who were the more out of countenance, becaufe
 " they found that the afperfions and imputation
 " which their Enemies had laid upon them, were fo
 " grounded, that they could not wipe them off:
 " That there was as great Pride, as great Ambition,
 " as many private Ends, and as little Zeal and Affec-
 " tion for the Public, as they had ever imputed to
 " the Court: That, whilft they pretended, at the
 " Public coft, and out of the Purfes of the poor
 " People, to make a general Reformation, their
 " chief care was to grow great and rich Them-
 " felves; and that both the City and Kingdom
 " took notice, with great anxiety of Mind, that
 " all the Offices of the Army, and all the profi-
 " table Offices of the Kingdom, were in the hands
 " of the Members of the two Houfes of Parliament;
 " who, whilft the Nation grew poor, as it muft
 " needs do under fuch infupportable Taxes, grew
 " very rich; and would, in a fhort time, get all the
 " Money of the Kingdom into their hands; and that
 " it could not reasonably be expected, that fuch
 " Men, who got fo much, and enriched Themfelves
 " to that degree, by the continuance of the war,
 " would heartily purfue thofe ways which would
 " put an end to it; the end whereof muft put an end
 " to their Exorbitant Profit." When they had exag-
 gerated thefe reproaches, as pathetically as they

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could, and the sense the People generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing any end of the Calamities they sustained, or having any prospect of that Reformation in Church and State, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, " that God
" would take his own Work into his hand; and if
" the Instruments he had already employed, were
" not worthy to bring so glorious a Design to a
" conclusion, that He would inspire others more fit,
" who might perfect what was begun, and bring the
" Trouble of the Nation to a Goodly period.

After a Fast-
day, Vane and
Cromwell
proposed a
self-denying
Ordinance.

When the two Houses met together, the next day after these devout Animadversions, there was another Spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them, " if ever God had appeared
" to them, it was in the exercise of Yesterday; and
" that it appeared, it proceeded from God, because
" (as he was credibly informed by many, who had
" been Auditors in other Congregations) the same
" lamentations, and discourses, had been made in all
" other Churches, as the Godly Preachers had made
" before Them; which could therefore proceed
" only from the immediate Spirit of God." He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepared to enlarge; and besought them " to remember their obligations to God, and
" to their Country; and that they would free them-
" selves from those just reproaches; which they
" could do no otherwise, than by divesting them-
" selves of all Offices, and Charges, that might
" bring in the least advantage and profit to them.

“ selves; by which only they could make it appear, B O O K
“ that they were public-hearted Men; and as they yIII.
“ payed all Taxes and Impositions with the rest
“ of the Nation, so they gave up all their time to
“ their Country's Service, without any reward or
“ gratuity.

He told them, “ that the Reflections of Yesterday,
“ none of which had ever entered upon his Spirit
“ before, had raised another Reflection in him than
“ had been mentioned; which was, that it had been
“ often taken notice of, and objected by the King
“ himself, that the Numbers of the Members of Par-
“ liament, who sat in either House, were too few
“ to give reputation to Acts of so great Moment, as
“ were transacted in their Councils; which, though
“ it was no fault of theirs, who kept their proper
“ Stations, but of those who had deserted their
“ places, and their trusts, by being absent from the
“ Parliament; yet that, in truth, there were too
“ many absent, though in the Service of the House,
“ and by Their appointment; and if all the Mem-
“ bers were obliged to attend the Service of the Par-
“ liament, in the Parliament, it would bring great
“ reputation to their Numbers, and the People
“ would pay more reverence, and yield a fuller obedi-
“ ence to their Commands:” and then concluded,
“ that he was ready to accuse himself for one of
“ those who gained by an Office he had; and though
“ he was possessed of it before the beginning of the
“ Troubles, and owed it not to the favor of the Par-
“ liament” (for he had been joined with Sir *William*
Ruffel in the *Treasurership* of the Navy by the King's

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Grant) "yet he was ready to lay it down, to be disposed of by the Parliament; and wished, that the profits thereof might be applied towards the support of the War."

When the Ice was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had not yet arrived at the faculty of Speaking with decency and temper, commended the Preachers for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they had been so unwilling to hear of: that there were many things, upon which he had never reflected before, yet upon revolving what had been said, he could not but confess, that all was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that the Parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance into the War, to engage many Members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the Nation might see that they did not intend to Embark them in perils of War, whilst themselves sat securely at home out of Gun-shot, but would march with them where the danger most threatened; and those Honorable Persons, who had exposed themselves this way, had merited so much of their Country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their Example: But, that God had so blessed their Army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than

“ they were now possessed of; and desired them not
 “ to be terrified with an imagination, that if the
 “ highest Offices were vacant, they should not be
 “ able to put-as fit Men into them; for besides that
 “ it was not good to put so much trust in any Arm
 “ of Flesh, as to think such a Cause as This depend-
 “ ed upon any one Man, he did take upon him to
 “ assure them, that they had Officers in their Army,
 “ who were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in
 “ Christendom.”

He said “ he thought nothing so necessary as to
 “ purge, and vindicate the Parliament, from the
 “ partiality towards their own Members; and made
 “ a proffer to lay down his Commission of Command
 “ in the Army;” and desired, “ that an Ordinance
 “ might be prepared, by which it might be made
 “ unlawful, for any Member of either House of Par-
 “ liament, to hold any Office or Command in the
 “ Army, or any Place or Employment in the State;”
 and so concluded with an enlargement upon “ the
 “ Vices, and Corruptions, which were gotten into
 “ the Army; the prophaneness, and impiety, and
 “ absence of all Religion; the drinking and gaming,
 “ and all manner of Licence, and Laziness; and said
 “ plainly, that till the whole Army were new Model-
 “ led, and Governed under a stricter Discipline, they
 “ must not expect any notable Success in any thing
 “ they went about.”

This Debate ended in appointing a Committee,
 “ to prepare an Ordinance for the Exclusion of all
 “ Members from their Trusts aforesaid;” which
 took up much Debate, and depended very long be-

B O O K VIII. fore it was brought to a conclusion; and in the end was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driving on of which, exceedingly increased the inclination of the other Party to Peace; which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruins, in that of the Kingdom.

Advice came from so many several hands to *Oxford*, that the King should send a Message to the Houses for Peace, with an Assurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majesty (who still apprehended as great a division among his own Friends upon the Conditions of Peace, out of the universal weariness of the War, as he discerned there was among his Enemies upon the Emulation in Command, or differences in Religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The Members of Parliament were still sitting at *Oxford*: but they at *London* who were most desirous of Peace, had given warning to avoid that Rock; and that their Names should never be mentioned; which would have procured an Union between the most irreconcilable Parties, in throwing out such Overtures. On the other side the sending a bare Message, by a Trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an insolent Answer in the same way, or no Answer at all, as his two or three last Messages had done.

In conclusion, the King resolved that there should be a short Message drawn; in which, "the continuance of the War, and the mischiefs it brought upon the Kingdom, should be lamented: and his desire expressed, that some reasonable Conditions of Peace might be thought upon; assuring them

“ that his Majesty would be willing to consent to
 “ any thing, that could consist with his Conscience
 “ and Honor.” He resolved, that he would send this
 Message by some Persons of Condition; who might,
 upon conference with their Friends, be able to make
 some impression; at least discover what might be
 reasonably expected. And if the Parliament should
 refuse to grant a Safe-Conduct for such Messengers,
 it might well be presumed, what reception the Mes-
 sage itself was like to find. The Persons he resolved
 to send, were the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl
 of *Southampton*; both of unblemished Honor, and of
 general Reputation in the Kingdom. So a Trumpet
 was sent to the Earl of *Essex* for a Safe-Guard, or Pass,
 to those two Lords; to the end they might deliver a
 Message from the King to the two Houses concern-
 ing a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Essex*
 only answered, “ that he would acquaint the Houses
 “ with it, and return their Answer;” and so dismissed
 the Trumpet.

The King had now done his part; and the rest was
 to be perfected there. They who were resolved never
 to admit a Peace, though they could not still prevent
 a Treaty, thought they had advantage enough to
 object against this unusual Message: “ If the Message
 “ itself had been sent, they might have judged,
 “ whether it had been like to be attended with good
 “ Success, and so might have accepted a Treaty,
 “ if they had approved of it; but this sending of
 “ Messengers before they knew what they would
 “ bring, was an invention to begin a Treaty before
 “ they admitted it; and to send Enemies into their

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"Quarters, with Authority to scatter their Poison abroad:" and therefore, with great passion, they pressed, "that no such Pass should be sent." On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alledged, "that the refusal of the Safe-Conduct was a total rejection of Peace, before they understood upon what terms it would be offered; which the People would take very ill from them; and conclude that the War must continue for ever; they therefore wished that a Safe-Guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better opinion of their Friends, than to imagine that the Presence, or Power of two Men how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt, or pervert their Affections from the Parliament."

In this opinion the *Scottish* Commissioners likewise concurred; so that the other Party found it necessary to consent, and the Safe-Conduct, after many Debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their Friends abroad, to be overpowered; they revenged themselves in pursuing the despatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a General, it was already proposed "that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*" (who had behaved himself so signally in their Service, in the Defeat of Colonel *Bellasis*, and taking him Prisoner, which gave them their first footing in *Yorkshire*, from their being shut up and Besieged in *Hull*; in the overthrow of the Lord *Byron*, and taking all the *Irish* Regiments; and lastly in the late Battle at *York*, where he had turned the fortune of the day,

Sir Thomas Fairfax is proposed in the House of Commons to be made their General.

when the *Scottish* Army was Routed and their General Fled) "might now be made their General;" for which *Oliver Cromwell* assured them he was very equal. In the discourses upon this Subject (which found all opposition) as the Service of the Earl of *Essex* was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have no other General, so it was undervalued, and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believed that all they could do would be to no purpose, if He were not totally excluded from any power.

About the beginning of *December*, the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, upon their Pass, went from *Oxford* to *London*; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the People should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the *Scottish* Commissioners, as Men in Sovereign Authority, and Independent upon the Parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The Houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their Message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the War was carried on only by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Message being delivered to either House, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the *Scottish* Commissioners made a third Estate, and the Message was directed to Them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolved, "that there should be a Conference between the two Houses" in the Painted-Chamber; at which the *Scottish*

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The Duke of
Richmond and
the Earl of
Southampton
sent to London
with a Message
for a Treaty.

BOOK VIII. “Commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the Table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the King’s Messengers:” Where there was a Seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that They would be so too; for though the Lords used to be covered whilst the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the *Scottish* Commissioners; and so none were covered. But as soon as the two Lords came thither, they covered, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that Eye-sore.

The two Lords used very few words, in letting them know the King’s great Inclinations to Peace; and delivered and read their Message to that purpose; which was received by the Lords without any other expressions than “that they should report it to the Houses;” and so the meeting broke up: And then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, passed some Compliments and Ceremony to the two Lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send Confiding Persons to them. By which means, they found there were great Divisions among them, and upon Points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believed that there would be a Treaty of Peace; but they could not make any such guess of the Moderation of the Conditions of the Peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired the Peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it, but upon

the highest terms of Honor, and Security for the Parliament; which could neither be Secure, nor Honorable for the King. They discovered, that they who did heartily wish the Peace, did intend to promote a Treaty between Persons named by the King and Persons named by the Parliament, to meet at some third Place, and not to send Commissioners to *Oxford* to Treat with the King himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end: Whereas they did believe, or seemed to believe, that how unreasonable soever the Propositions should be, upon which they Treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the Houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

This Method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober Men were named for Commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their Communication. And the Duke of *Richmond* sent his Secretary *Webb* expressly to *Oxford*, to know the King's pleasure, "whether, if a third Place were proposed for Commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it?" Which his Majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was persuaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into Debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they staid in Town, the Houses would never so much as confer upon the Subject of their Message; because they found it would be

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"matter of great Debate, and spend much time ;
"during which they did not desire their Company,
"nor to be troubled with their Infusions." And there-
fore, as soon as they had received the King's Message,
they proceeded upon their Trial of the Arch-Bishop
of *Canterbury* before both Houses of Parliament, upon
an Impeachment of High-Treason, resolving like-
wise to give that evidence to the People, of what
inclination they had to make a Peace with the King.
The two Lords, observing this affected delay in
the business they were sent about, and being advised
by their Friends not to stay longer, but to expect the
determination to be sent to *Oxford*, returned to the
King, with some confidence that a Treaty would be
consented to; and that it would be, at some third
Place, and not at *Oxford*, and less at *London*, by
Commissioners which should be agreed on by both
sides. But they brought an express desire, and even
a condition to the King, from all those with whom
they had conferred, and who were the chief Persons
who advanced the Treaty, "that, if that which
"they labored for, should be yielded to by the Par-
"liament, his Majesty would not Name a Person"
(whom they mentioned to the King) "for one of
"his Commissioners; for that he was so odious, that
"they would absolutely decline the Treaty, before
"they would admit Him to be one of the Treaters."

The Trial of
the Arch-
Bishop of *Can-*
terbury.

It was, as is said before, a very sad Omen to the
Treaty, that, after they had received the King's
Message by those Noble Lords, and before they re-
turned any Answer to it, they proceeded in the
Trial of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had lain

Prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any prosecution till this time. Now they brought him to the Bars of both Houses; charging him with several Articles of High-Treason; which, if all that was alledged against him, had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treason. They accused him "of a design to bring in Popery, and of having correspondence with the Pope," and such like particulars, as the Consciences of his greatest Enemies absolved him from. No Man was a greater, or abler Enemy to Popery; No Man a more resolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was prosecuted by Lawyers, assigned to that purpose, out of those, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some disobligations received from him, were sure to bring Passion, Animosity, and Malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach and barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not displeased.

He defended himself with great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his Constitution; answered all their objections with clearness, and irresistible reason; and convinced all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his detestation of all Treasonable Intentions. So that though few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolved him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of, and punish. However, when They had said all they could

B O O K against Him, and he all for himself that need to be
VIII. said, and no such Crime appearing, as the Lords,
 as the Supreme Court of Judicatory, would take upon
 them to judge him to be worthy of death; they re-
 sorted to their Legislative Power, and by Ordinance
 of Parliament, as they called it, that is by a deter-
 mination of those Members who sat in the Houses
 (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above
 twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as
 guilty of High-Treason. The first time the two
 Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Juris-
 diction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to
 such a purpose; nor could any Rebellion be more
 against the Law, than that Murderous Act.

He is con-
 demned by an
 Ordinance.

When the first mention was made of their mon-
 strous purpose, of bringing the Arch-Bishop to a
 Trial for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
 who had always a great Reverence and Affection for
 him, had spoken to the King of it, and proposed to
 him, "that in all events, there might be a Pardon
 " prepared, and sent to him, under the Great Seal
 " of *England*; to the end, if they proceeded against
 " him in any form of Law, he might plead the King's
 " Pardon; which must be allowed by all who pre-
 " tended to be governed by the Law; but if they
 " proceeded in a Martial, or any other extraordinary
 " way, without any form of Law, his Majesty
 " should declare his Justice and Affection to an old
 " faithful Servant, whom he much esteemed, in hav-
 " ing done all towards his preservation that was in
 " his Power to do." The King was wonderfully
 pleased with the Proposition; and took from thence
 occasion

occasion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Arch-Bishop, with extraordinary Affection; and commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cause the Pardon to be prepared, and his Majesty would Sign and Seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the Chancellor sent for Sir *Thomas Gardiner* the King's Solicitor, and told him the King's pleasure; upon which he presently drew the Pardon, which was Signed and Sealed with the Great Seal of *England*, and carefully sent, and delivered into the Arch-Bishop's own hand, before he was brought to his Trial; who received it with great joy, as it was a Testimony of the King's gracious Affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavoured to take away the King's Life, would preserve His by his Majesty's Authority.

When the Arch-Bishop's Council had perused the Pardon, and considered that all possible Exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the Impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the Pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at *Oxford*, because they had no Copy of it; and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as, in any Court of Law, would make the Pardon valid against any exceptions the King's own Council could make against it. Hereupon, the Arch-Bishop had, by the same Messenger, returned the Pardon again to the Chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and delivered safely again to him, and was in his

B O O K hands during the whole time of his Trial. So when
VIII. his Trial was over, and the Ordinance passed for his Execution, and He called and asked, according to custom in Criminal proceedings, "what he could say more, why he should not suffer death?" He told them, "that he had the King's gracious Pardon, which he pleaded, and tendered to them, and desired that it might be allowed." Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long Debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the King could not Pardon a Judgment of Parliament." And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for his Beheading; which he underwent with all Christian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders and Confusion of his Enemies. Much hath been said of the Person of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments, and natural Infirmities, to which shall be added no more in this place (his memory deserving a particular celebration) than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the best Men.

The Arch-
 Bishop be-
 headed.

When they had despatched this important work, and thereby received a new instance of the good Affection and Courage of their Friends, and involved the two Houses in fresh guilt and obloquy (for too many concurred in it, without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their Credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more Authority advance the Peace that was desired) they now

enter upon the Debate, " what Answer they should
 " send the King, concerning a Treaty for Peace." BOOK
VII.
 They who desired to advance it, hoped thereby to
 put an end to all the designs of new-modelling the
 Army; and to prevent the increase of those Factions
 in Religion, which every day broke out among them,
 to the notorious Scandal of Christianity. They who
 had no mind to a Treaty, because they had minds
 averse from all thoughts of Peace, discerned plainly,
 that they should not be able to finish their design upon
 the Army, and set many other devices on foot, which
 would contribute to their convenience, until this
 longed-for Treaty were at an end; and therefore
 they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and
 resolved, that there should be a Treaty, and upon
 the Method that should be observed in the conduct-
 ing it; from which they who should be employed
 by them, should not recede to be diverted.

Then they nominated sixteen Commissioners for The two
Houses agree
to a Treaty at
Uxbridge.
 the two Houses, and four for the Parliament of *Scot-*
land, and named *Uxbridge* for the place where the
 Treaty should be; which Treaty should be limited
 to be finished within twenty days from the time when
 it should begin.

Upon this conclusion, they sent their Answer to
 the Message, they had received from the King by a
 Trumpet, in a Letter from their General to the King's
 General; in which they informed his Majesty, " that,
 " out of their passionate desire of Peace, they had
 " agreed to his Proposition for a Treaty; and that
 " they had assigned *Uxbridge* for the place where it
 " should be; and had appointed the Earl of *Northum-*

BOOK

VIII.

"berland, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*,
 "and the Earl of *Denbigh*, of the House of Peers;
 "and of the Commons, the Lord *Wainman*," Mr.
Pierpoint, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Saint-John* (whom they
 called the King's Solicitor-General) "Sir *Henry Vane*
 "the younger, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr.
 "Prideaux; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the
 "Lord *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*;" the Lord
Maitland (who, by the death of his Father, became
 Earl of *Lautherdale* by the time of the Treaty) "Sir
 "Charles *Erskin*, and one Mr. *Barclay*, to be their
 "Commissioners; together with Mr. *Alexander Hen-*
derfon, in matters only which relate to the Church;
 "to Treat, upon the particulars they had intrusted
 "them with, with such Persons, as his Majesty
 "should please to Nominate; for all whom a Safe-
 "Conduct should be sent, as soon as his Majesty had
 "named them; as they desired his Majesty's Safe-
 "Conduct for the Persons named by them:" to none
 of which the King took any exception, but signed
 their Pass, and sent word to the Houses, "that he
 "accepted the Treaty, and the place, and that he
 "had nominated, as Commissioners for Him, the
 "Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the
 "Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingston*, the Earl
 "of *Gloucester* the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*,
 "the Lord *Hatton*, Controller of the King's House-
 "hold; the Lord *Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls;
 "Sir *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the Exchequer;
 "Sir *Edward Nicholas*, principal Secretary of State;
 "Sir *Richard Lane* Lord Chief-Baron of his Court
 "of Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, his Majesty's

The King
 accepts it.

" Solicitor-General; Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Attorney of his Court of Wards; Mr *John Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Geoffery Palmer*; and desired, that a Safe-Conduct might be sent for them, as his Majesty had sent for the others; and they should then be ready, at the day that was set down, at *Uxbridge*."

When this was returned to *Westminster*, there arose new disputes upon the Persons named by the King, or rather against the Additions, and Apellations of Title, which were made to their Names; for they did not except against the Persons of any of them, though several were most ungracious to them.

When the Lord Keeper *Lyttleton* had fled from *Westminster*, upon his Majesty's Commands to attend him at *York*, the two Houses had, in their fury, declared, "that nothing which should, from that time, pass under the Great-Seal, should be good and valid; but void and null:" this they did to discredit any Commission, which they foresaw might issue out for their Conviction, Trial, and Attainder: and, in some time after, they had caused a Great-Seal to be made with the King's Image, for the despatch of the necessary process in Law, and proceedings in Courts of Justice, which Seal was committed by them to some of their Members, who had sat in the Chancery, and transacted the business of that Court, and applied the Seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this Declaration and Ordinance of theirs, invaded in this Message they had now received from the King. The Lord *Dunsmore* had been created Earl of *Chichester*; Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Lord *Hatton*; Sir *John Colepepper*.

BOOK Lord Colepepper. with the Addition of Master of the
VIII. Rolls: which Office they had bestowed upon *Lent-*
hall their Speaker, who was in possession of it; Sir
Edward Hyde was declared Chancellor of the Exche-
 quer; which, though it was an Office they had not
 meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the Great-
 Seal, after it came into the King's hands. Sir *Thomas*
Gardiner was made the King's Solicitor; and the
 Patent formerly granted to their beloved *Saint John*,
 stood revoked; which they would not endure; hav-
 ing, as is said, annexed that Title to his Name when
 they mentioned him as a Commissioner for their
 Treaty. They had the same exception to the Chief-
 Baron, and to the Attorney of the Wards; both
 which Offices were in the possession of Men more in
 their favor.

After long Debate, they were contented to insert
 their Names in their Safe-Conduct, without their
 Honors, or Offices; and they were so angry with the
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind
 that he should be styled a Knight, because he was
 not so when he left the Parliament: But the *Scottish*
 Commissioners prevailed in that point, since they
 had not yet pretended to take away the Use of the
 King's Sword from him: so they allowed him, by a
 Majority of Votes, to be a Knight, and sent their
 Safe-Conduct, in the manner as is mentioned, to
Oxford: Upon which the King, at the desire of the
 Persons concerned, forbore to insist; but giving
 them still in his own Pass, and in his Commission
 whereby they were authorized to Treat, the Style and
 Appellation which belonged to them, and which

must be allowed by the others before they begun to Treat. The Style of their Pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was private advice given at the same time, "that they would not, when they met at the Treaty, consider any Authority that qualified the King's Commissioners to Treat, but only what should be under the King's Sign-Manual," though they would not have taken that for a sufficient Warrant for themselves to Treat with the King's Enemies; at last the King's Commissioners were contented, together with a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manual, as was desired.

About the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, the Commissioners on both sides met at *Uxbridge*; which being within the Enemy's Quarters, the King's Commissioners were to have such Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the Town to the King's Commissioners, one House only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*; so that they had no cause to complain of their Accommodation; which was as good as the Town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good House at the end of the Town, which was provided for the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the middle of the House, handsomely dressed up for the Commissioners to sit in: a large square Table being placed in the middle with Seats for the Commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either Party; and a Rail for others

B O O K who should be thought necessary to be present, which
VIII. went round. There were many other Rooms on either side of this great Room, for the Commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult by themselves, and to return again to the public Debate; and there being good Stairs at either end of the House, they never went through each other's Quarters; nor met, but in the great Room.

As soon as the King's Commissioners came to the Town, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them; and, within an hour, those of the King returned their visits with usual Civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The first visits were altogether, and in one Room; the *Scots* being in the same Room with the *English*. Each Party ate always together, there being two great Inns which served very well to that purpose. The Duke of *Richmond*, being Steward of his Majesty's House, kept his Table there for all the King's Commissioners: nor was there any restraint from giving and receiving Visits apart, as their acquaintance, and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the King's Party used their accustomed Freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side, there was great wariness and reservedness; and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give, or receive Visits to, or from their old Friends; whom they loved better than their New. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the King's Commissioners, but had always one of their Companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least trusted. It was observed by the

Town, and the People that flocked thither, that the King's Commissioners looked as if they were at home and governed the Town; and the other as if they were not in their own Quarters; and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of Mind, as Men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault. BOOK
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The King's Commissioners would willingly have performed their Devotions in the Church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is by Inhibition from the Parliament, otherwise than that by the Parliament's Ordinance (as they called it) the Book of Common-Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the Vestures, nor Ceremonies of the Church to be used. So that the days of Devotion were observed in their great Room of the Inn; whither many of the Country, and the Train of the Commissioners, and other Persons, who came every day from *London*, usually resorted.

When the Commissioners, on both sides, met first together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had taken their Seats, it being left to the King's Commissioners, which side of the Table they would take; the Earl of *Northumberland*, who always delivered any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers (after the powers of both sides were examined, and perused) proposed some Rules to be observed in the Treaty; "as of having Nothing binding, unless All were Agreed upon;" and such like; to which there was no objection; and offered, as a direction they had received from the Parliament, "that they should first enter upon the matter of Re-

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"ligion, and Treat three entire days upon that Subject, without entering upon any other; and if all Differences, in that particular, were not adjusted within those days, they should then proceed to the next Point, which was the Militia; and observe the same Method in that, and from thence pass to the business of *Ireland*; which three Points being well settled, they believed the other differences would be with more ease composed: and after those Nine days were passed, they were to go round again upon the several Subjects, as long as the time limited would continue: his Majesty being left at liberty to propose what he thought fit, at his own time, and to change the Method proposed." It was declared, "that the Twenty days, limited for the Treaty, were to be reckoned of the days which should be spent in the Treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or the days spent in Devotion;" there falling out three Sundays and a Fast-day in those Twenty days. The Method was willingly consented to; the King's Commissioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the King's behalf, till they discerned what agreement was like to be made in any one particular, by which they might take their Measures, and might propose any thing of Moment under one of the three Heads mentioned before.

There happened a very odd Accident, the very first Morning they met at the House to agree upon their Method to be observed in the Treaty. It was a Market-day, when they used always to have a Sermon, and many of the Persons who came from

Oxford in the Commissioners Train, went to the Church to observe the forms. There was one *Love*, a young Man, that came from *London* with the Commissioners, who preached, and told his Auditory, which consisted of the People of the Town, and of those who came to the Market, the Church being very full, "that they were not to expect any good from the Treaty; for that they came from *Oxford* with hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell; and that they intended only to amuse the People with expectation of Peace, till they were able to do some notable mischief to them;" and inveighed so seditiously against all Cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the King, and against the Persons of the Commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the People to mutiny; and in it to do some Act of Violence upon the Commissioners. They were no sooner advertised of it, by several Persons who had been present in the Church, and who gave very particular Information of the very words which had been spoken, than they informed the other Commissioners of it: gave them a Charge in writing against the Preacher; and demanded public Justice. They seemed troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the Man; but afterwards confessed, "that they had no Authority to punish him, but that they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, and to be sent out of the Town;" and this was all that could be obtained: so unwilling

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they were to discountenance any Man who was willing to serve them. This is the same *Love*, who some years after, by *Cromwell's* particular prosecution, had his head cut off, for being in a Plot with the *Scots* against the Army, and their Parliament.

It is not the purpose of this Discourse to set down the particular transactions of this Treaty; which were published by the King's Order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the Papers, which had been delivered by the Commissioners on either side, exposed to the View of the Kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be briefly mentioned, that any, who hereafter shall have the perusal of this History, may know how impossible it was, that this Treaty could produce such a Peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who governed the Parliament then, had at that time the resolution to Act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

First of Religion.

The first business to be entered upon, being that of Religion, the Divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr. *Steward*, Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a Commissioner, as Mr. *Henderfon* was on the other side; and they both sat covered without the Bar, at the backs of the Commissioners. On the Parliament-Part, it was proposed, "that all the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, might be immediately taken away, and abolished; and

“ in the room thereof, that there might be another
“ Government erected, such as should be most agree-
“ able to God’s word, and the Practice of the best
“ Churches: That the Book of Common-Prayer
“ might be taken away, and totally suppressed; and
“ that, instead thereof, a Directory might be used ”
(in which there was likewise set down as much of
the Government, which they meant to erect for the
future, as was necessary to be provided for the pre-
sent, and which supplied all the use of Articles or
Canons, which they had likewise abolished)” and
“ that the King himself should take the Covenant ;
“ and consent to an Act of Parliament, whereby all
“ Persons of the Kingdom should be likewise obliged
“ to take it.” And the Copies of the Covenant, and
the Directory were delivered at the same time to
the King’s Commissioners; which were very long,
and necessary to be read over, before any Answer
could be made to them. So they took that Afternoon
to peruse them together, and adjourned their Treaty
till the next Morning; and though they entered
upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory
was so very long, that they spent all that Afternoon,
and some part of the Night, before they had finished
the reading of them. Then, there being many new
terms in the Directory, as *Congregational*, *Classical*,
Provincial, and *Synodical*, which were not known
in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant,
which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were
left so, because the Persons who framed them, were
not all of one mind, nor had the same Intentions in
some of the other terms mentioned before, the King’s

B O O K VIII. Commissioners caused many Questions to be prepared in writing, to be offered at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be informed, what their meaning was in such and such Expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one, and the same Answer.

About the beginning of the Treaty, or the day before it did begin, the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, visited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; and He presently went to the Duke's Chamber; where he found them both; and after some short Compliments, the Earl told him, "how stoutly
" he had defended his Knighthood; which the Parliament had resolved to have denied, if he had not
" convinced them." Thence, he discoursed of "the
" great prejudice the Parliament had against him, as
" a Man who more industriously opposed Peace
" than any other of the King's Council: that he had
" now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies, by being a good Instrument in making this
" Peace, and by persuading his Majesty to comply
" with the desires and supplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he would be."

The Chancellor told him, "that the King did so
" much desire a Peace, that no Man need advise
" him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and
" honorable conditions of Peace were offered to
" him; but if a Peace could not be had, but upon

“ such conditions as his Majesty judged inconsistent
 “ with his Honor, or his Conscience. no Man could
 “ have credit enough to persuade him to accept it;
 “ and that, for His own part without reflecting upon
 “ the good or ill opinion the Parliament might have
 “ of him, he would dissuade him from consenting
 “ to it.” The other seemed disappointed in his so
 positive Answer; yet, with great freedom, entered
 upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some
 kind of Apology, “ that *Scotland* was so far engaged
 “ in the Quarrel, contrary to their former Intentions,
 “ and professions,” he did as good as conclude, “ that
 “ if the King would satisfy them in the business of
 “ the Church, they would not concern themselves
 “ in any of the other Demands.” In which Propo-
 sition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer, but sharp protestations
 against the demands, as inconsistent with Conscience,
 Justice, or Religion, the conference broke off, with-
 out inclination in either of them to renew it. But;
 from that time, there was more contradiction and
 quick repartees between them two throughout the
 Treaty, than between any other of the Commis-
 sioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private
 Conferences with other of the Commissioners, that
 the Parliament took none of the points in controversy
 less to heart, or were less united in, than in what
 concerned the Church.

When, upon the next meeting of the Commis-
 sioners, the Questions, which were mentioned be-
 fore, were read, and delivered by the Duke of *Rich-*
mond, who always performed that part on the behalf

BOOK VIII. of the King's Commissioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their Countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We looked into Their Game; but without offering at any Answer, they arose, and went to their Room of consultation; where they remained in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other Commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourned till the Afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were sat, the Earl of *Northumberland* said, "that they wondered there should
 " appear any difficulty in any expressions; upon
 " which those Questions had been administered in
 " the Morning; which to Them seemed very clear
 " and plain; however, to give their Lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble
 " Lord, there present, who was well acquainted
 " with the signification of all those words, to explain
 " what the common sense and meaning of them was." Thereupon, the Earl of *Lautherdale* made a discourse upon the several Questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But, being a young Man, not accustomed to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: So that the Commissioners desired, "that they might receive an Answer
 " in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance
 " of the Treaty, that though in Debate any Man
 " might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing
 " should be understood to be the sense of either side,
 but

“ but what was delivered in Writing; and therefore
 “ they desired, that what that Noble Lord had said,
 “ which they presumed was the sense of all the rest,
 “ because they had referred to Him, and seemed
 “ satisfied with what he had delivered, might be
 “ given to them in writing; without which they
 “ knew not how to proceed, or give an Answer to
 “ what was proposed to them.” This demand,
 founded upon a Rule of their own, which they knew
 not how to decline, put the *Scottish* Commissioners
 into great passion: for all the *English* sat still with-
 out speaking a word, as if they were not concerned.
 The Lord *Lautherdale* repeated what he had said be-
 fore, a little more distinctly; and the Chancellor of
Scotland, said, “that the things were so plain, that
 “ no Man could chuse but understand, and remem-
 “ ber what was spoken; and that the pressing to put
 “ it in writing was only to spend time; which
 “ would be quickly out, half the time assigned for
 “ the business of Religion being to expire that
 “ night;” and therefore passionately desired them,
 “ that they would rest satisfied with what had been
 “ spoken, and proceed upon the matter.”

It was replied, “that they could not trust their
 “ Memories so far, as to prepare an Answer to their
 “ demands concerning the Covenant, or Directory,
 “ except they were sure that they understood the
 “ full and declared meaning of their demand; which
 “ they had less reason now to believe they did, than
 “ before; since there was so much difficulty made
 “ to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must
 “ insist upon receiving an Answer to the Papers they

B O O K " had given:" And two or three of the King's Commissioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise delivered to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any Answer in writing; nor they on the King's side, to desist from demanding it: But they declared, " that
VIII. " as they presumed, they should, in the end, receive
" their Answer in writing, which they should not
" depart from, so it was their resolution not to defer
" their farther proceeding upon the matter; but they
" were ready to prosecute that in the method they
" would desire;" and so it was resolved, " the next
" Morning, to hear the Divines, who were of either
" Party, what they would say against or for Episcopacy, and the Government, and Lands of the
" Church;" which were equally concerned in the Debate.

On the King's part, besides Dr. *Steward*, who was a Commissioner in matters relating to the Church, there was Dr. *Sheldon*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Lany*, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*; Dr. *Fern*, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*; Dr. *Potter*, then Dean of *Worcester*, and Provost of Queen's College in *Oxford*; and Dr. *Hammond*; all who, being the King's Chaplains, were sent by him to attend the Commissioners for their Devotions, and for the other Service of the Church, as the management of

the Treaty required; which could not be foreseen: On the Parliament-side, besides Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, who was the Commissioner, Mr. *Marshall* a Country-Parson in *Essex*, and an Eminent Preacher of that Party. who was the Chief Chaplain in the Army, Mr. *Vines*, a Parson likewise in *Warwickshire*, and a Scholar (both of them of the Assembly of Divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the Church, which had been so often disputed there) Mr. *Cheyne*, one who had been Fellow of *Merton*-College in *Oxford*, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the disputes, had not their names remembered.

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Mr. *Henderson* begun rather with Rhetoric, than Logic, "of the necessity to change the Government
" of the Church, for the preservation of the State;
" which was so much in danger, that it could be
" preserved no other way; and therefore that in
" Conscience it ought to be consented to; that the
" Question was not about the preservation of Both,
" which, by the Wisdom of the Parliaments of both
" Nations, was found to be impossible; but since
" there could but one stand, whether they should
" be both Sacrificed, or the Church given up, that
" the State might be preserved: nor was the Question now whether Episcopacy was Lawful, and
" the Government by Bishops consistent with Religion, but whether it was so necessary, that Religion could not be preserved without it; which
" was to condemn all the Reformed Churches of
" *Europe*, where there were no Bishops, *England*
" only excepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that

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“ the Parliament, which best understood what was
 “ good for the Nation, had found it to be a very un-
 “ necessary, inconvenient, and corrupt Government,
 “ that had been productive of great mischief to the
 “ Kingdom from the very time of the Reformation;
 “ that the Bishops had always favored Popery, and
 “ preserved, and continued many of the Rights and
 “ Customs thereof in their Government, and Prac-
 “ tice; and had of late introduced many Innovations
 “ into the Church, by the example and pattern of the
 “ Church of *Rome*, and to the great scandal of the
 “ Protestant Churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*,
 “ and *Holland*; that they had been the occasion of
 “ the War between the two Nations of *Scotland*, and
 “ *England*; and then of the Rebellion in *Ireland*;
 “ and now of the Civil War in *England*; and there-
 “ upon, that the Parliament, in order to the uniting
 “ all the Protestant Churches, which was the only
 “ way to extinguish Popery, had resolved to change
 “ this inconvenient, mischievous Government, and
 “ erect another in the place of it, which should ad-
 “ vance Piety, and true Religion; and that he
 “ hoped the King would concur in so Godly an
 “ Action, which would prove so much for his
 “ Glory.” * He took notice of “ an odd Answer for-
 “ merly made by a King of *England*, when the alte-
 “ ration of some Laws had been desired of him,
 “ *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*; which, he said, must
 “ be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossi-
 “ ble for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he
 “ will not change the Laws; for most Kings had
 “ changed them often for their own, and their Sub-

* Let the
 reader take
 notice that
 Mr. Henderson
 is mistaken in
 the English
 story. *Nolumus*
 ect was not
 said by a King,
 but to him.
 See Coke upon
 the Statute of
 Merton.
 Cap. 2.

"jects benefit; but the meaning must be, *Nolumus*
 "*leges Angliæ mutari*, We will change them as often
 "as there shall be occasion, but We will not suffer
 "them *mutari*, to be changed, by the presumption of
 "others, without our consent." He said. "they did
 "not presume to think of compelling the King to
 "change the Government of the Church; but they
 "hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble
 "Petition of both Kingdoms, and for his own, and
 "their benefit: That he should say no more, till he
 "should hear the reasons from the Divines on the
 "other side, why his Majesty should not consent to
 "the Advice of his Parliament, since he conceived
 "nothing of Conscience could be alledged against it,
 "because it appeared by what his Majesty had con-
 "sented to in *Scotland*, for the utter abolishing of
 "Bishops, that he did not believe in his Conscience,
 "that Episcopacy was absolutely necessary for the
 "support of Christian Religion.

Dr. *Steward*, with a much better countenance,
 told the Commissioners, "that he hoped and knew,
 "that their Lordships were too well acquainted with
 "the Constitution of the Church of *England*, and
 "the Foundation upon which it subsisted, to be-
 "lieve it could be shaken by any of those Arguments
 "which had been made against it. He said, that
 "though he did believe, it was impossible to prove
 "that a Government, settled and continued with-
 "out intermission, from the time when Christianity
 "was first planted in *England*, and under which the
 "Christian Religion had so much flourished, was an
 "unlawful and Anti-Christian Government; yet

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“ that he expected, that they who had sworn to
“ abolish it, and came now to persuade their Lord-
“ ships to concur with them in pressing the King to
“ join in the same obligation, would not urge a less
“ argument for such their Engagement, than the un-
“ lawfulness, and wickedness of that Government,
“ which Conscience obliged them to remove. But
“ Mr. *Henderson* had wisely declined that Argument,
“ though in their Common Sermons, and other Dis-
“ courses in Print, they gave it no better Style than
“ *Anti-Christian*; and had urged only the inconve-
“ niences which had fallen out from it, and benefit
“ which would result by the Charge, of which no
“ judgment could be made, till it might be known
“ what Government they did intend to erect in the
“ place of it; and since the Union with the Foreign
“ Protestant Churches, seemed to be their greatest
“ reason for the prodigious alteration they proposed,
“ he wished that they would set down which Fo-
“ reign Church it is, to which they meant to conform,
“ and make their new Government by; for that he
“ was assured, that the model which they seem af-
“ fected to in their Directory, was not like to any of
“ the Foreign Reformed Churches now in the
“ World.” He said; “ though he would not take
“ upon him to censure the Foreign Churches, yet it
“ was enough known, that the most Learned Men
“ of those Churches, had lamented that their Refor-
“ mation was not so perfect as it ought to be, for
“ want of Episcopacy; which they could not be
“ suffered to have: and they had always paid that
“ Reverence to the Church of *England*, which they

“ conceived due to it, as to the Church to which
 “ God had vouchsafed the most perfect Reformation,
 “ because it retains all that was innocent, or
 “ venerable in Antiquity.” He then enlarged upon
 the original Institution of Episcopacy; using all those
 Arguments, which are still used by the most Learned
 Men in those disputes, to prove, that without Bishops
 there could be no Ordination of Ministers, and consequently
 no administration of Sacraments, or performance of the
 Ministerial Functions. He said, “ he
 “ would not presume to say any thing of his Majesty’s
 “ having consented to the abrogation of Episcopacy in
 “ *Scotland*, though he knew what his Majesty himself
 “ thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon him in
 “ Conscience in this Kingdom, which he had not in that,
 “ his Coronation-Oath, by which he was bound to defend the
 “ Rights of the Church; and That alone would make it
 “ unlawful for his Majesty to consent to what was proposed,
 “ both in the point of Episcopacy, and the alienation of the
 “ Lands of the Church; which would be direct Sacrilege.”

Upon these several points, and what resulted from
 thence, the Divines on both sides spent all that day,
 Morning and Afternoon, till it was very late in the
 night, and most part of the next day; only the Commissioners
 on either side, at the first coming together, Mornings
 and Afternoons, presented such Papers as they thought
 fit, upon what had passed in Debate: As the King’s
 Commissioners desired to know in writing, “ whether the
 “ Parliament-Commissioners did believe that the Government
 “ of the Church

BOOK VIII. "by Bishops was unlawful?" To which they could never obtain a Categorical Answer.

When the last of the three first days was past (for it was near twelve of the Clock at Night) and the *Scottish* Commissioners observed that nothing was consented to which they looked, for the Chancellor of *Scotland* entered into a long discourse, with much passion, against Bishops, "of the mischief they had done in all Ages, and of their being the sole Causes of the late Troubles in *Scotland*, and of the present Troubles in *England*:" Remembered, "that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had pursued the Introduction of the Liturgy and the Canons into *Scotland*, with so great vehemence, that, when it was desired, that the publishing them might be suspended for one Month, that the People might be the better prepared to submit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by no means consent to that delay; but caused it to be entered upon the next *Sunday*, against the advice of many of the Bishops themselves; which put the People into such a fury, that they could not be appeased. He lamented and complained, that three days had been now spent in fruitless Debates; and that though their Divines had Learnedly made it appear, that Episcopacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken away; and that notwithstanding it was evident, that it had been the cause of great mischief, and the Wisdom of Parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Kingdom; their Lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one

“ particular of Importance, to give them satisfaction; B O O K
 “ from which they could not but conclude, that VIII.
 “ they did not bring that hearty inclination to Peace,
 “ which they hoped they would have done ;” and so
 concluded with some expressions more rude and in-
 solent, than were expected.

Whereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not
 without some commotion, said, “ that he did not
 “ wonder, that their Lordships, who had for some
 “ years been accustomed to such Discourses, and
 “ the more inclined to suppose all that was confidently
 “ said to be reasonably proved, and so having not
 “ been used to converse with any Persons of a con-
 “ trary opinion, had been brought to consent and
 “ approve those alterations, which they had pro-
 “ posed ; but that it seemed very admirable to him,
 “ that their Lordships could expect, or imagine it
 “ possible, that they who never had heard such things
 “ said before, nor could understand in so little time
 “ what had been now said, should depart from a Faith,
 “ and a form of Worship, in which they had been
 “ educated from their Cradle ; and which, upon so
 “ long observation, and experience, they looked
 “ upon with all possible approbation and reverence,
 “ upon only hearing it inveighed against three days ;
 “ which would have been much too little time to
 “ have warranted a Conversion from much less im-
 “ portant opinions, they had so long entertained ;
 “ though their Arguments had Had as much weight
 “ as they wanted.” He said, “ they were of opinion,
 “ that all those mischiefs and inconveniences which
 “ they had mentioned, had in truth proceeded from an

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“ over-vehement desire to overthrow Episcopacy ,
 “ not from the Zeal to support it: that if the Arch-
 “ Bishop of *Canterbury* had been too precipitate in
 “ pressing the reception of that, which he thought a
 “ Reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made
 “ him the more wonder, that they should blame
 “ Them, for not submitting to much greater altera-
 “ tions, than were at that time proposed, in three
 “ days; when they reproached Him, for not having
 “ given Them a whole Month to consider.” He said,
 “ he might assure their Lordships with great sincer-
 “ ity, that they were come thither with all imagin-
 “ able passion and desire, that the Treaty might con-
 “ clude in a happy and blessed Peace, as he still
 “ hoped it would; but if it should be otherwise, that
 “ they would still believe, their Lordships brought
 “ with them the same honorable and pious Inclina-
 “ tions, though the Instructions, and Commands from
 “ those who trusted them, restrained them from con-
 “ senting to what in their own judgments seemed rea-
 “ sonable.” And so, without any manner of reply,
 both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

There happened a pleasant Accident on one of these days, which were assigned for the matter of Religion. The Commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the Fire-side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely Cold, in general and casual discourses: One of the King's Commissioners asked one of the other with whom he had familiarity, in a low Voice, “ why there was not in their whole Directory, “ any mention at all of the Creed, or the Ten Com-

“mandments, and so little of the Lord's Prayer?” BOOK
 which is only once recommended. The Earl of VIII.
Pembroke, overhearing the discourse, answered aloud,
 and with his usual passion, “that He, and many
 “others, were very sorry that they had been left out;
 “that the putting them in had taken up many hours
 “Debate in the House of Commons, and that at
 “last the leaving them out had been carried by eight
 “or nine Voices; and so they did not think fit to
 “insist upon the addition of them in the House of
 “Peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it,
 “and he verily believed, if it were to do again, they
 “should carry it for the inserting them all; which
 “made many smile, to hear that the Creed, and
 “the Ten Commandments, had been put to the
 “Question, and rejected:” And many of the other
 were troubled, and out of countenance with the
 reason the good Lord had given for the Exclusion.

The next Subject of the Treaty was the business Secondly of the
 of the Militia; which their Commissioners positively Militia.
 required, “to be entirely vested in the Parlia-
 “ment, and in such Persons as they thought fit to be
 “confided in. This they said, was more necessary
 “than ever, for the securing the People from their
 “Fears and Jealousies; which were now much in-
 “creased, and were capable of being assuaged by no
 “other means:” and delivered a large Paper to that
 purpose, which contained no more than had been
 often said in their Declarations, and as often answer-
 ed in those which had been published by the King.
 And when the Commissioners of the King, whereof
 there were four very Eminent in the knowledge of the

BOOK Law, Lane, Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer, made
VIII. the demand appear to be without any pretence of Law; or Justice, and asserted it to be vested in the King by the Law, they never offered to alledge any other Argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had declared the right of the Militia to be in Them, from which they could not recede; so that the Conferences were very short upon those days, but the Papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the Peace) both publicly and privately insisting "upon
 " having the whole Command of the Militia by Sea,
 " and Land, and all the Forts, and Ships of the
 " Kingdom at their disposal; without which they
 " looked upon themselves as lost, and at the King's
 " Mercy;" not considering that He must be at Their's, if such a Power was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary Security; and believed it could proceed from nothing else, but a Resolution to take the highest Vengeance upon their Rebellion.

Thirdly of
 Ireland.

Then they entered upon the business of *Ireland*; in which they thought they had the King at a very great advantage; and that his Commissioners would not be able to answer the Charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the Commissioners on the King's part, who had not been well acquainted with those Transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the King had been necessitated to do; and any thing of Grace towards the

Irish Rebels, was as ungracious at *Oxford*, as it was at *London*; because they knew the whole Kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that Rebellion; "how the King had voluntarily committed the carrying on that War to the two Houses of Parliament; that they had Levied great Sums of Money upon the Kingdom for that Service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater Burden upon the Kingdom than it could bear, that his Majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring in Money, upon assurance of having Land assigned to them in that Kingdom, out of the Forfeitures of the Rebels, as soon as the Rebellion should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the same Act, put it out of his Power to make any Peace, or Cessation with those Rebels, or to grant Pardon to any of them without consent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his Majesty's Subjects had brought in very considerable Sums of Money, by which they had been able to manage that War without putting this Kingdom to farther Charge; and God had so blessed the Protestant Forces there, that they had subdued and vanquished the Rebels in all Encounters; and, probably, by that time, the whole Rebellion had been extinguished, if the King had not, contrary to his promise, and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a Cessation with those Execrable Rebels, when they were not able to continue the War; and had called over many of those Regiments, which the Parliament

BOOK " had sent over against the *Irish* , to return hither to
 VIII. " Fight against the Parliament: by means whereof
 " his Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom were in
 " great danger to be destroyed , and the Kingdom
 " to be entirely possessed by the Papists." They enlarged themselves upon this Subject , with all the invidious insinuations they could devise , to make the People believe , that the King was inclined to , and favored that Rebellion. They demanded , " that
 " the King would forthwith declare that Cessation to
 " be void ; and that he would prosecute the War
 " against those Rebels with the utmost fury ; and
 " that the Act of Parliament for their reduction ,
 " might be executed as it ought to be."

The Commissioners of the King prepared and delivered a very full Answer in writing to all their Demands ; at the delivery whereof , they appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars , which proved the Counsels that had been taken , just , and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly , that those of the Parliament were in much Confusion , and the King's Commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of " their bringing those very Troops , which were
 " Levied by the King's Authority for the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Ireland* , to Fight against
 " the King at *Edge-hill* , under the Command of the
 " Earl of *Essex* ; of their having given over the prosecution of that War , or sending any supply of
 " Arms , Money , or Ammunition thither ; having
 " employed those Magazines which were provided
 " for that Service , against his Majesty ; insomuch

“ as the Privy-Council of that Kingdom had sent to
 “ his Majesty, that he would provide some other
 “ way for the preservation of that Kingdom, since
 “ they could not be able to support the War any
 “ longer, against the United Power of the Rebels:
 “ That all Overtures, which his Majesty had made
 “ towards Peace, had been rejected by the Parlia-
 “ ment; and one hundred thousand pounds, brought
 “ in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been sent
 “ in one entire Sum into *Scotland*, to prepare and
 “ dispose that Kingdom to send an Army to Invade
 “ This; which they had done, and till then his
 “ Majesty had not, in the least degree, swerved
 “ from the observation of that Act of Parliament;
 “ but when he saw that the Parliament, instead of
 “ prosecuting the end and intention of that Statute,
 “ applied it wholly to the carrying on the War against
 “ Himself, he thought himself absolved before God
 “ and Man, if he did all he could to rescue and de-
 “ fend himself against their Violence, by making a
 “ Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by
 “ drawing over some Regiments of his own Army
 “ from thence, to assist him in *England*: which Ces-
 “ sation had hitherto preserved the Protestants of
 “ that Kingdom; who were not able without supplies
 “ to preserve themselves from the strength and
 “ power of the Rebels; which supplies his Majesty
 “ could not, and the Parliament would not send;
 “ and therefore, if the Protestants there, should here-
 “ after be oppressed by the Rebels, who every day
 “ procured assistance from abroad, and so were like
 “ to be more powerful, all the Mischiefs and Misery

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“ that must attend them, would, before God and
“ Man, be put to the Account of the Parliament;
“ which had defrauded them of those supplies, which,
“ by his Majesty’s care, had been raised, and pro-
“ vided for them; and not to his Majesty, who had
“ done nothing but what he was obliged to do for
“ his own preservation; and if he had not sent for
“ those Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have
“ stayed there without a supply of Money, Clothes,
“ and Provisions; which the Parliament had not
“ yet sent to that part of the Army which remained
“ there, and which could by no other way have
“ subsisted, but by the benefit, and security of the
“ Cessation.”

He told them, “ that all this unjustifiable way of
“ proceeding, though it had compelled the King to
“ yield to a Cessation, yet could not prevail with
“ him to make a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels; from
“ whom he had admitted Commissioners to attend
“ him with propositions to that purpose; but that,
“ when he found those Propositions and Demands so
“ unreasonable, that he could not consent to them
“ in Conscience, and that they were inconsistent
“ with the security of his Protestant Subjects there,
“ he had totally rejected them, and dismissed their
“ Commissioners with severe and sharp Animadver-
“ sions: yet that he had given his Lieutenant, and
“ Council there, Authority to continue the Cessa-
“ tion longer, in hope that the Rebels there, might
“ be reduced to better Temper; or that his Majesty
“ might be enabled by a happy Peace here, which
“ he hoped this Treaty would produce, to Chastise
their

“ their odious and obstinate Rebellion : And if the
 “ Parliament would yet give his Majesty sufficient
 “ caution that the War should be vigorously prosecuted
 “ there against the *Irish*, by sending over
 “ strong Supplies of Men and Money, he would
 “ put an end to that Cessation without declaring it
 “ to be void ; which otherwise he could not in Justice
 “ do, and the doing whereof would be to no
 “ purpose.”

The Commissioners, visibly out of Countenance and Angry, made no other reply, but “ that they
 “ were sorry to find, that odious and detestable
 “ Rebellion had received so much Grace, as that
 “ Commissioners from it had been admitted into the
 “ King’s Presence ; and that they wondered, there
 “ should be any scruple made of Declaring that Cef-
 “ sation void, that was entered into expressly against
 “ the Letter of an Act of Parliament.” This reply they
 gave in writing, with many pathetical expressions
 against the Murders and Cruelties, that had been
 used in the beginning of that Rebellion ; which
 obliged the King’s Commissioners to a little more
 sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to ;
 and to tell them, “ That they wished it were in the
 “ King’s Power to punish all Rebellion, with that
 “ severity that was due to it ; but since it was not so,
 “ he must condescend to Treaties, and to all other
 “ Expedients which are necessary to reduce his Sub-
 “ jects who are in Rebellion, to return to their Duty
 “ and Obedience.”

The nine first days were now spent upon the three
 great heads, in which there was little advance made.

B O O K towards giving satisfaction to either Party; for
VIII. though, in the matter of Religion, the King's Commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige Bishops to be more diligent in Preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their Jurisdiction; yet no such Reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible, that in the matter of *Ireland*, the King's defence would weigh down their Clamor and Calumny. There happened some Accidents in this time of the Treaty, which made impression on each Party; the first was found in the looks of the Parliament-Commissioners, upon the Advertisement they received, that Sir *Lewis Dives*, who was Governor of a small Garrison in *Sherborne in Dorsetshire*, had from thence, in a Night, upon Intelligence with the King's Governor of *Portland-Castle*, surpris'd *Weymouth*, a Sea-Port possessed by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

But whilst the King's Commissioners entertained some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the Parliament to a just Peace, they received Advertisement of a much greater loss sustained by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel *Langhorn*, and *Mitton*, two very Active Officers in the Parliament-Service, about *Shropshire* and *North-Wales*, by correspondence with some Townsmen, and some Soldiers in the Garrison of *Shrewsbury*, from whence too many of that Garrison

were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some Expedition, seized upon that Town in the Night; and, by the same Treachery, likewise entered the Castle; where Sir *Michael Earnly* the Governor had been long sick, and rising, upon the Alarm, out of his Bed, was killed in his Shirt; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible; and refused Quarter; which did not shorten his Life many days, he being even at the point of Death by a Consumption; which kept him from performing all those Offices of Vigilance he was accustomed to, being a Gallant Gentleman, who understood the Office and Duty of a Soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was a great blow to the King, and straitened his Quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure Line of Communication with *Chester*, and exposed all North-Wales, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, to the daily inroads of the Enemy: and the News of this, recovered the dejected Spirits of the Parliament-Commissioners at *Uxbridge*.

Yet there had been an odd Accident which accompanied the Enterprize upon *Weymouth*, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir *Lewis Dives* had, in his March from *Sherborne*, intercepted a Packet of Letters sent out of *Somersetshire* to the Parliament; and among those, there was a Letter from *John Pyne*, a Gentleman well known, and of a fair Estate in that Country, to Colonel *Edward Popham*, a principal Officer of the Parliament in their Fleets at Sea, and of a passionate and virulent Temper, of the Independent Party. The Subject of the Letter was a bitter invective against the Earl of *Essex*, and all those who

B O O K advanced the Treaty of Peace, and a great detestation
VIII. of the Peace, with very indecent expressions against the King himself, and all who adhered to him. This Letter had been sent by Sir *Lewis Dives* to one of the Secretaries at *Oxford*, and from Him to the Commissioners at *Uxbridge*; who, as soon as they received it, communicated it to some of those Commissioners, who they knew desired a Peace, and were very great Friends to the Earl of *Essex*. The *Scots* were likewise as much inveighed against as any Body else. They to whom this Letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advised, "that the Marquis of *Hertford*, might send a Copy of it to his Brother the Earl of *Essex*, with such reflections as He thought fit:" which being done accordingly, the Earl of *Essex*, who was yet General, took it so much to heart that he desired the Marquis of *Hertford* would send him the Original; which was presently done; hoping that it would have given some Advantage to the Earl of *Essex*, towards whom the Parliament yet behaved itself with all imaginable decency and respect.

The Conversation that this Letter occasioned between some of the Commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the Faction that was in the Parliament: that there were many who desired to have Peace, without any alteration in the Government, so they might be sure of Indemnity, and security for what was past; that the *Scots* would insist upon the whole Government of the Church, and in all other Matters would defer to the King; but that there was another Party,

that would have no Peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the Government in State, as well as Church; which made a great Party in the Army: all those of the Parliament who desired to remove the Earl of *Essex* from being General of the Army, and to make another General, were of that Party. There was likewise, among the Commissioners themselves, very little Trust, and Communication; Sir *Harry Vane*, *Saint-John*, and *Prideaux*, being, upon the matter, but Spies upon the rest; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a Peace, even upon any Terms, yet none of them had the Courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant Demand. Besides, there was reason enough to believe, that, if the King had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly Demanded, and upon the delivering up of all those Persons who had faithfully served the King, and had been by them always excepted, as Persons never to be Pardoned.

For though they had assigned those three general Heads, of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, to be first Treated upon, which were all plausible and popular Arguments, and in which they who most desired Peace, would insist at least upon many condescensions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declined any other of their Propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest Quality, or of the most declared Affections to the King, in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from Pardon; and the making the Estates of the rest, under

B O O K the Name of Delinquents, liable to pay the Charges
VIII. of the War; from which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, the Houses had not in their Instructions given their Commissioners Authority, in the least particle to recede: They who desired Peace, being satisfied, that they had prevailed to have a Treaty, which they imagined would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands, would fall off, of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars which more concerned the public; and, on the other side, they who resolved the Treaty should be ineffectual, were well content, that their Commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three Generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the Propositions concerning those particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concerned the Church, the *Scots* would never depart from a tittle; and as sure, that the King would never yield to it; and that, in the Militia, they who most desired Peace, would adhere to that which most concerned their own Security; and in the business of *Ireland*, besides the opportunity to asperse the King, upon an Argument in which the People generally concurred with them, they were safe enough; except the King should absolutely retract, and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the Cessation void, expose all those who had a hand in it, to Their censure, and judgment; and so dissolve all the Authority he had in that Kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their Treaty, without bringing any of their other

demands into Debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the King satisfied them in the Terms of those three Propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his Conscience, or his Honor, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the King's Condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former Three, they who had most passion for Peace, would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those Men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remained to be demanded.

One Night, late, the Earl of *Pembroke* came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Lodging, to return him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him, to think it reasonable to consent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never such a
 " Pack of Knaves, and Villains, as they who now
 " governed in the Parliament; who would so far
 " prevail, if this Treaty were broke off, as to remove
 " the Earl of *Essex*; and then they would constitute
 " such an Army as should force the Parliament, as
 " well as the King, to consent to whatsoever they
 " demanded; which would end in the Change of
 " the Government into a Common-wealth." The Chancellor told him, "if he believed That, it was
 " high time for the Lords to look about them, who
 " would be then no less concerned than the King."

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He confessed it, and "that they were now sensible, " that they had brought this mischief upon themselves; and did heartily repent it, though too late; " and when they were, in no degree, able to prevent " the general destruction, which they foresaw: but, " if the King would be so gracious to them, as to " preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable Propositions which were made by the Parliament, the other wicked Persons would be disappointed by such his concessions; the Earl of *Essex* " would still keep his power; and they should be " able, in a short time after the Peace concluded, by " adhering to the King, whom they would never " forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he " now parted with, and to drive these wicked Men, " who would destroy Monarchy, out of the Kingdom; and then his Majesty would be greater than " ever." How extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were Men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge to other of the King's Commissioners, with whom they had the same confidence: so broken they were in their Spirits, and so corrupted in their Understanding, even when they had their own ruin in their View.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the proudest Man alive, could not look upon the Destruction of Monarchy, and the contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then increased, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly received at *Oxford*, upon his Addresses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the

jealousy of the Parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolved no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the King's Power and Authority so much restrained, that he might not be able to do him any harm. BOOK
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The Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, were so totally without credit, or interest in the Parliament, or Country, that it was no matter which way Their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their Fear of the Faction that prevailed, was so much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wished They might rather be destroyed than the King, they had rather the King and his Posterity should be destroyed, than that *Wilton* should be taken from the one of them, or *Hatfield* from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believed to be the highest point of prudence, and politic circumspection.

The Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater parts, and saw farther before him into the desperate designs of that Party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his Ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to Theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had conversed too long. Though he had received from them most signal Affronts and Indignities, and well knew he should never more be employed by them, yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compelled to yield to

BOOK worse conditions than were now offered to Him.

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He conferred with so much freedom with one of the King's Commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great Friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his Companions. With Him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the King, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, "that
 " he would most willingly redeem his Transgressions
 " by any attempt that might serve the King signally,
 " though he were sure to lose his Life in it; but that
 " to lose Himself, without any benefit to the King,
 " would expose him to all misery; which he would
 " decline, by not separating from his Party." He informed him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then governed the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagined; and had a full prospect of the vile condition Himself, and all the Nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it, by any Authority of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by
 " losing his Life, he might preserve the King, he
 " would embrace the Occasion; otherwise, he would
 " shift the best he could for himself."

Of the Commissioners of the House of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a Peace, and upon much honestest conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their

minds freely enough, severally, to those Commissioners of the King's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own Companions, use that freedom. The Debate that had been in the House upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had raised so many Jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the Troubles, professed to have most devotion for the Earl of *Essex*, and to abhor all his Enemies, had lately seemed to concur in that Ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonor and destruction; and others who seemed still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

Hollis, who was the frankest among them in owning his Animosity and Indignation against all the Independent Party, and was no otherwise affected to the Presbyterians, than as they constituted a Party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appeared most resolute to concur with him, would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he abounded. *Whitlock*, who, from the beginning, had concurred with them without any Inclinations to their Persons, or their Principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his Estate was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear, or submit to be undone: though to his Friends, who were Commissioners for the King, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation

B O O K of all the proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave
VIII. them. *Pierpoint*, and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their Counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appeared now to have contracted more bitterness, and sourness than formerly; and were more reserved towards the King's Commissioners, than was expected; and in all Conferences insisted peremptorily, "that the King must yield to whatsoever was required in the three Demands, which had been Debated." They all valued themselves "upon having induced the Parliament, against all Opposition, to consent to a Treaty; which producing no effect, they should hereafter have no more credit;" and it plainly appeared, that they had persuaded themselves, that, in the Treaty, they should be able to persuade the King's Commissioners to concur with them; and that the King would yield upon the very same argument, and expectation, that the Earl of *Pembroke* had offered to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the Commissioners, or, if They could be corrupted so far in their judgments, how much more impossible it would be to persuade the King to consent to what was so diametrically against his Conscience, and his Honor; and, in truth, against his Security, did wish, "that, to get the time of the Treaty prolonged, some Concessions might be made in the point of the Militia, in order to their security; which being provided for, might probably take off many Persons, who, out of that

“ consideration principally, adhered to those who
 “ they thought were most jealous of it, and most so-
 “ licitous for it.” This seemed such an Expedient to
 those to whom they proposed it, that they thought
 fit to make a Debate among all the Commissioners
 about it; “ and if it should produce no other effect,
 “ than the getting more days to the Treaty, and
 “ making more Divisions in the Parliament, both
 “ which they might naturally expect from it, the be-
 “ nefit was not small that would attend it; for, as
 “ long as the Treaty lasted, there could be little ad-
 “ vance made towards new-modelling the Army, the
 “ delay whereof would give the King likewise more
 “ time to make his Preparations for the Field; to-
 “ wards which he was in no forwardness.” This
 consideration prevailed with the Commissioners to
 send their opinion to the King, “ that he would give
 “ them leave to propose, when the next day came
 “ for the Debate of the point of the Militia, that the
 “ whole Militia of the Kingdom should be settled
 “ in such a Number of Persons, for seven or eight
 “ years, who might be all sworn to the observation
 “ of all the Articles which should be agreed upon in
 “ the Treaty; after the expiration of which time,
 “ which would be sufficient to extinguish all jea-
 “ lousies, it should be restored to the King.” And
 they sent the King a List of such Names, as they
 wished might be inserted in the Proposition, of Per-
 sons in Credit with the Parliament, to which his Ma-
 jesty might add the like Number of such, of whose
 Fidelity he was most assured.

The Earls of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, and

B O O K *Manchester, with Fairfax, and Cromwell, were among*
VIII. *those they recommended to be named by the King. With this Message they sent two of their own Body, who added other reasons, which they conceived might prevail with Him; and it was with great difficulty that his Majesty was prevailed with to consent, that such an Overture should be made. But being unwilling to dissent from his Commissioners judgement, and believing it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthening the Treaty, his Majesty was contented, that the Commissioners should make such an Offer as is mentioned, and name the Persons they had proposed of the Parliament-Party; and withal, he sent a List of such Persons as himself thought fit to trust in that Affair; in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the Militia to be vested. But by this time, the Term assigned for the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had at first advised this Expedient, had not the same opinion of the success; and had plainly discovered, that the Parliament would not consent to add one day more to the Treaty. So the farther prosecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aside. For the King's Commissioners concluded, "that at this time to offer any particular
" Names from the King to be trusted with the Militia,
" was but to expose those Persons to reproach, as
" some of them were very ungracious and unpopu-
" lar to them; and to give the other side an excuse
" for rejecting the offer, upon exception to their
" Persons." However, that they might see a greater condescension from the King in that point, than he*

had ever yet been induced to, they offered, “ that
 “ the Militia should be so settled for the space of
 “ seven years; as they had desired, in such a Number
 “ of Persons as should be agreed upon; a moiety of
 “ which Persons, should be nominated by the King,
 “ and the other moiety by the Parliament:” which
 was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

From this time the Commissioners, on both sides,
 grew more reserved, and colder towards each other;
 insomuch as in the last Conferences, the Answers
 and Replies upon one another, were sharper and
 more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in
 their Conference upon the last day, which held most
 part of the Night, it was evident, either side labored
 most to make the other seem to be most in fault.
 The King’s Commissioners delivered a Paper, which
 contained a Sun of all that had been done in the
 Treaty, and observed, “ that after a War of so many
 “ years, entered into, as was pretended, for the
 “ Defence, and Vindication of the Laws of the Land,
 “ and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of
 “ twenty days, they had not demanded any one
 “ thing, that, by the Law of the Land, they had the
 “ least Title do demand; but insisted only on such
 “ particulars as were against Law, and the established
 “ Government of the Kingdom; and that much more
 “ had been offered to them for the obtaining of
 “ Peace, than they could with justice or reason re-
 “ quire:” with which they were so offended, that
 they, for some time, refused to receive the Paper,
 upon pretence, “ that the time for the Treaty was
 “ expired;” because it was then after twelve of the

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Clock of the Night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding, that it would not be less public, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted a little before the break of day.

The end of
the Treaty
without effect.

The next day, being *Sunday*, they rested in the Town, that they might in the Afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though *Monday*, according to the Letter of their Pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that Season of the year their Journey to *Oxford* might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the Commissioners for the Parliament, had given them a Paper in which they declared, "that they might safely make use of another day for their return, of which no Advantage should be taken." But they having on *Sunday*, performed their mutual Visits to each other, parted with such coolness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the King's Commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the *Monday* Morning so early in their Coaches, that they came to *Oxford* that Night, and kissed the King's hand; who received them very graciously; thanking them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great, and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their Lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that Treaty. The Commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the Clock in the Morning. Besides, They were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such
Papers

Papers as were directed for the next day, and to write Letters to *Oxford*; so that, if the Treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the Commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to *Oxford*. Thus ended the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, the particulars whereof were, by the King's Command, shortly after published in Print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

The King spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more Melancholy of his own Condition, and the State of his Affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was attended with many ill Consequences; and that which had seemed to bring some kind of recompence for it, the Surprise of *Weymouth*, proved but a Dream; for the Enemy had lost but one part of the Town, which they, in a short time after, recovered again by the usual Negligence of the King's Governors. So that his Majesty told them, "He found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his Son from himself, that the Enemy might not, upon any Success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his Son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm." He seemed to have very reasonable Apprehensions, that upon the loss of a Battle, he might become a Prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his Life; not that he believed they could be restrained

B O O K from that Impious Act, by any remorse of Con-
VIII. science, or that they had not wickedness enough to
 design, and execute it: but he believed it against
 their Interest; and would often, in discourse, say,
 “ of what moment the preservation of his Life was
 “ to the Rebels; and how much they were concerned
 “ to preserve it, in regard, that if he Himself were
 “ dead the Parliament stood dissolved; so that there
 “ would be an end of their Government:” which,
 though it were true in Law, would have little shaken
 their Power, of which they were too long possessed
 to part with it easily.

This was a speculation of that Nature, that no
 body had reason to endeavour to change the King's
 opinion in that particular; and his Majesty thought of
 nothing so much as hastening the Prince's Journey;
 and to that purpose, Commanded those who were
 appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day,
 resolving that his Highness should make his Journey
 directly to *Bristol*, and continue his residence there,
 till some emergent alteration should make his remove
 from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was
 made of raising an Army in the West, the King had
 no purpose to put the Prince into the head of any
 such Army; and though *Goring* had prevailed to be
 sent, with a strong Party of Horse, and some Foot,
 into *Hampshire*, upon pretence of securing the West
 from *Waller's* Incurſion, and upon some other design;
 yet the King had not the least purpose, that he should
 be where the Prince was; though he was not himself
 without that design at that present, as shall be made
 out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw him-

self from the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majesty having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol* to provide a House for his Highness, and to put that City into as good a posture of Security for the Prince's residence, as was necessary; nor was there any other Strength designed to attend about his Highness' Person, than one Regiment of Horse, and one Regiment of Foot, for his Guards, both to be under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; who was likewise to raise them upon his own Credit and Interest; there being, at that time, not one Man raised of Horse or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the Prince's Family, or his Person. In so great scarcity, and poverty, was the King himself, and his Court at *Oxford*.

There happened an Accident at this time, that reconciled the minds of many to this Journey of the Prince into the West, and looked like a good Omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King returned through *Somersetshire*, after the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*, there had been a Petition delivered to him, in the Names of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the County of *Somerset*, in which they desired, "that his Majesty
" would give them leave to Petition the Parliament,
" that there might be a Treaty for Peace; and that
" they might have liberty to wait upon his Majesty
" in Person in his march; and that when they came

BOOK VIII. " to a nearer distance, they might then go before, " and deliver their Petition; and if they should not " obtain their so just Request, they would then " assist his Majesty to get that by the Sword, which " could be obtained no other way." To that purpose, they desired leave " to put themselves in Arms, " to attend his Majesty in the Journey." This Petition, how indigested, or impracticable soever in the manner, and way proposed, was contrived by some Persons of unquestionable Fidelity to the King; who thought, that under this specious Title of Petitioners for Peace, they might draw even that whole Populous County to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his Foot; which he most desired. But his Majesty's speedy march, left that design to be better weighed and digested.

Upon the first Fame of the Prince's being to visit the West, and to keep his Court there, some Gentlemen, of the best Quality in the West, came to *Oxford*, as intrusted by the rest to acquaint his Majesty, " that they had now formed the Design, they had " formerly presented to him, much better than it " was; and that the four Western Counties, *Dorset*, " *Somerset*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, had resolved to " enter into an Association, and to be joint Petitioners to the Parliament for Peace; and that their " Petition should be sent by very many thousands of " the most substantial Freeholders of the several " Counties, who should have Money enough in " their Purses to defray their Charges, going and

" returning; and whosoever refused to join in the
 " Petition, should be looked upon as Enemies to
 " Peace and their Country, and accordingly treated;
 " so that this Address could not but have great influ-
 " ence upon the Parliament, being under the Style
 " of One and All; and could not but be looked upon
 " as such." They desired the King, " that the Prince
 " might be made General of this Association; in
 " order to which, they would provide for his support
 " according to his Dignity; and, in the first place,
 " take care for the raising a good Guard of Horse
 " and Foot, for the safety of his Person."

Though this design, in the Notions thereof, was
 as unpracticable as the former, yet his Majesty
 thought not fit to discountenance, and reject it. It
 was very vehemently pressed by many Persons of
 Quality, in the name of the four Western Counties,
 and among those who took it most to heart, Sir
John Stawel was the Chief; a Gentleman of one of
 the largest Estates, that any Man possessed in the
 West, who had, from the beginning of the Parlia-
 ment, showed very great Affection to the Person of
 the King, and to the Government that was settled,
 both in Church and State; and from the beginning
 of the War had engaged both his own Person, and
 his two Sons, in the most active part of it, with
 singular Courage; and had rendered himself as odious
 to the Parliament, as any Man of that condition had
 done. This Gentleman was assisted, and counselled
 by Mr. *Fountain*, a Lawyer of Eminency, who had
 been imprisoned, and banished *London*, for his de-
 clared Affection to the Crown; and they two had

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first entertained and formed this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some Gentlemen, and more of the Farmers, and Freeholders of the County, found such a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good Success, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of Peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolved, and believed all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from Peace; so that the King concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their Association; which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delight'ed with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make Provision for the Prince's support, and for the raising his Guards of Horse and Foot; and to that purpose made haste to *Bristol*, that all things might be ready against the Prince came thither.

The Prince
of Wales
made General
of the
King's Forces,
and of the
Western
Association.

Upon these reasons, the Prince had two Commissions granted to him; one, to be General of the Association; and another, to be General of all the King's Forces in *England*. For when the King declared his Nephew Prince *Rupert* to be General, in the place of the Earl of *Brentford*, his Highness desired, "that there might be no General in *England*" but the Prince of *Wales*, and that he might receive "his Commission from Him;" which his Majesty took well; and so that Commission of Generalissimo was likewise given to the Prince, when in truth it was resolved he should Act no part in either, but remain quiet in *Bristol*, till the fate of all Armies could be better discerned.

The Indisposition and Melancholy which possessed the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party, was preserved from despair, only by the extraordinary Discontents and Animosities in the Parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had had by united Counsels. As soon as the Commissioners were returned from *Uxbridge*, and that a Treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent Party (for so they were now contented to be called, in opposition to the other which was styled Presbyterian) appeared bare-faced, and vigorously pressed on their *Self-denying Ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by putting out the old Officers; during the suspension whereof, there was no care for providing for the Troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those Provisions, which would be necessary for taking the Field. They were now entered into the Month of *March*, which was used as a strong Argument by both Parties, the one urging, "from the Season of the year, the necessity of expediting their resolution for the passing the Ordinance, that the Army might be put into a posture of marching;" the other pressing, "that so great an Alteration ought not to be attempted, when there was so short a time to make it in: That there would be apparent danger, that the Enemy would find them, without any Army at all fit to take the Field;" and therefore desired, "that all things might stand as they were, till the end of the next Campaign; when, if they saw cause, they might resume this Expedient." The other Party were

B O O K VIII. loud against the delay ; and said , “ that was the way
 “ to make the War last ; for managed as it had been ,
 “ they should be found at the end of the next Cam-
 “ paign in the same posture they were now in ;
 “ whereas they made no doubt but , if this Ordi-
 “ nance was passed , they should proceed so vigor-
 “ ously , that the next Campaign should put an
 “ end to the War . ”

The Debate continued many days in the House of Commons , with much passion , and sharp reflections upon Things , and Persons ; whilst the House of Peers looked on , and attended the resolution below . Of the Presbyterian Party , which passionately opposed the Ordinance , the chief were , *Hollis* , *Stapleton* , *Glin* , *Waller* , *Long* , and others , who believed their Party much Superior in Number ; as the Independent Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes* , *Vane* , *Cromwell* , *Hastlerig* , *Martin* , and others ; who spoke more and warmer than they that opposed them . Of the House of Peers , there was none thought to be of this last Party , but the Lord *Say* ; all the rest were supposed to be of the Earl of *Essex* 's Party ; and so , that it was impossible that the Ordinance should ever pass in the House of Peers , though it should be carried by the Commons : But they were in This , as in many other things , disappointed ; for many , who had sat silent , and been thought to have been of one Party , appeared to be of the other . They who thought they could never be secure in any Peace , except the King were first at their Mercy , and so obliged to accept the conditions they would give him , were willing to change the hand in carrying on the War : and many ,

who thought the Earl of *Essex* behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the Command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be angered, and humbled, that Himself might be more concerned to advance a Peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the Supreme Command. BOOK
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When the Debate grew ripe, *Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock*, and *Crew*, who had been thought to be of the Party of the Earl of *Essex*, appeared for passing the Ordinance, as the only way to unite their Counsels, and to resist the Common Enemy; saying, "they discovered by what they heard abroad, and by the Spirit that governed in the City, that there would be a general dissatisfaction in the People, if this Ordinance were not passed." Then they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Essex*, extolling his great merit, and seemed to fear, "that the War would never be carried on so happily, as it had been under Him; or if it were, that the good success must be still imputed to his Conduct, and Courage, which had formed their Armies, and taught them to Fight." By this kind of Oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for Peace and Unity, they so far prevailed over those who were still surprised, and led by some Craft, that the Ordinance was passed in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for their Consent; where no body imagined it would ever pass. The Self-denying Ordinance passes the Commons.

After the Battle at *York*, and that the Earl of *Manchester* was required to march with his Army

B O O K against the King, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Essex*
VIII. in *Cornwall*, the *Scottish* Army marched Northward,
 to reduce the little Garrisons remaining in those parts;
 which was easily done. After which they marched to
New-Castle; which, being defended only by the
 Townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a Siege,
 was given up to them, after as good a resistance as
 could be made in such a place, and by such People.
 So that they having no more to do in those parts,
 the Parliament thought not fit however to dismiss
 them to return into their own Country, not know-
 ing yet, how far their new-modelled Army would
 be able to carry on all their designs. And therefore
 the *Scottish* Army was again advanced as far as *York*,
 and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

An account of
 the Earl of
 Mountrose's
 Expedition
 into Scotland.

The King had formerly, towards the end of the
 year forty-three, considered how to give such a
 disturbance to *Scotland*, as might oblige their Army
 to stay at home to quench a Fire in their own
 Country; but all the Advance, which had been
 made towards the execution of that design, in the
 Conferences with the Earl of *Mountrose* and in the
 Commitment of Duke *Hamilton*, had been checked
 for some time, by the King's not being able to give
 any Troops to that Earl, by the Protection whereof
 the Loyal Party of that Kingdom might come to his
 Assistance, and discover their Affection to his Majesty.
 Notwithstanding which, the vigorous Spirit of the
 Earl of *Mountrose*, had stirred him up to make some
 attempt, whether he had any help or no. The Person
 whom that Earl most hated, and contemned, was
 the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the Chief-

Government of *Scotland*; and though he was a Man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation, that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his Estate and Authority, a very great Interest in that Kingdom; yet he had no Martial Qualities, nor the reputation of more Courage, than insolent and imperious Persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

The Earl of *Mountrose* believed that his getting safely into *Scotland*, was much more difficult than it would be to raise Men enough there to control the Authority of *Argyle*. There was, at that time, at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Antrim*, remarkable for nothing, but for having Married the Dowager of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, within few years after the death of that Favorite. By the possession of Her ample Fortune, he had lived in the Court in great expense and some lustre, until his Riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the Kingdom, and to retire to his own Fortune in *Ireland* (which was very fair) together with his Wife; who gave him reputation, being a Lady, besides her own great extraction and Fortune, as Heiress to the House of *Rutland*, and Wife and Mother to the Dukes of *Buckingham*, of a very great wit and Spirit; and made the mean parts of her present Husband (a handsome Man too) well enough received in all places: so that they had lived in *Ireland* in splendor, as they might well do, till that Rebellion drove the Lady again from thence, to find a livelihood out of her own Estate in *England*. And upon the Queen's first coming to *Oxford*, She likewise came thither; where

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B O O K She found great respect from all. The Earl of *Antrim*,
VIII. who was a Man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his Wife, than he betook himself to the Rebels, with an imagination that his Quality and Fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be looked upon as a greater Man than the Marquis of *Ormond*; which was so uneasy and torturing an Ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The Rebels were glad of His presence, and to have his Name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his Brother, *Alexander Macdonnel*, who was fast to their Party, and in their most secret Counsels.

The Earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his Station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the Protestant Quarters, and from thence into *England*, and so to *Oxford*; where his Wife then was; and made his presence not unacceptable; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the *Irish* Rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in *Ireland* to serve the King, and to dispose the *Irish* to a Peace, if he should have any countenance from the King; which his Majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of *Antrim* had his original Extraction in *Scotland*, or the Marquis of *Argyle* His in *Ireland*, must be left to the determination of those

that are skilled in the Genealogy of the Family of the *Macdonnells*; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of *Antrim*, to much of those Lands in the Highlands of *Scotland*, which were possessed by *Argyle*; and the greatest part of his Estate in *Ireland* was in that part of *Ulster* that lies next *Scotland*, and his Dependents near of the same Language, and manner of living with the Highlanders of *Scotland*. The knowledge of this, disposed the Earl of *Mountrose* to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to *Oxford*, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a Body of Men out of *Ireland* to be such a foundation for raising Forces in *Scotland*, as might advance the Enterprize he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in *Scotland* had very good Affections for the King; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery, they had long endured under the Tyranny of *Argyle*. The passage over the Sea in those places, between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is so narrow, that the People often make their Markets in one and the other, in the space of few hours; and the hardiness of both People is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet, or clothing, or the great commodity of Lodging; and were very fit to constitute an Army that was not to depend upon any Supplies of Money, or Arms, or Victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practised in those parts.

The Earl of *Antrim*, who was naturally a great Undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that

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the King should believe him to be a Man of interest and power in *Ireland*, was highly exalted, when he discovered by the Earl of *Mountrose*, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of *Ireland*, to perform a Service for the King, which he never before entertained a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the Earl of *Mountrose*, "that, if the King would grant him a Commission, he would raise an Army in *Ireland*, and transport it into *Scotland*; and would himself be in the head of it; by means whereof he believed all the Clan of the *Macdonnells* in the Highlands of *Scotland*, might be persuaded to follow him." When the Earl of *Mountrose* had formed such a reasonable undertaking, as he believed the Earl of *Antrim* might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the Lord *Digby* with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him "to propose it to the King, and to let his Majesty know, that he was so confident of the Earl of *Antrim*'s being able to perform what should be necessary (for he would be very well content, if he would send over a Body but of two thousand Men into *Scotland*, which he well knew he could easily do) that he would himself be in the Highlands to receive them; and run his fortune with them; if his Majesty would give him leave to gather up such a Number of his Countrymen about *Oxford*, as would be willing to accompany him; with whom he would make his way thither; and that, if no time were lost in prosecuting this design, he did hope that by the time the *Scottish* Army should be ready to take the Field, they should receive

“ such an Alarm from their own Country, as should hinder their advance.”

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Upon this Overture, the King conferred with the two Earls together; and finding the Earl of *Antrim* forward to undertake the raising as many Men as should be desired, if he might have the King's Commission to that purpose; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the Kingdom, Interest enough to do it; and the Earl of *Mountrose* as confidently assuring his Majesty, “ that with two thousand Men Landed in the High-lands, he would quickly raise an Army, with which he could disquiet that Kingdom;” and the design being more probable, than any other that could be proposed to the same purpose, his Majesty resolved to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance; for he had neither Money, nor Arms, nor Ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection, that appeared at the first entrance into it, was, “ that though the Earl of *Antrim* had power in *Ulster*, and among the Roman-Catholics, he was very odious to the Protestants, and obnoxious to the State at *Dublin*, many things being discovered against him of his correspondence with the Rebels, which were not known when he came into *England*.” But that which gave most Umbrage (for no body suspected his conjunction with the Rebels) was his declared “ Malice to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the contempt the Marquis had of him, who would therefore undervalue any Proposition should be made by him, being a Man of so notorious a levity and inconstancy, that he did not use to intend

BOOK VIII. “ the same thing long. There could be no trusting
 “ him with any Commission independent upon the
 “ Marquis of *Ormond*, or allowing him to do any
 “ thing in *Ireland* without the Marquis’ Privy,
 “ and such a limitation would by no means be grate-
 “ ful to him. And though the benefit, the King’s
 “ Friends in *Scotland* would receive by the carrying
 “ away any Body of Men out of *Ulster*, would be
 “ a great lessening and abatement of the strength of
 “ the *Irish* Rebels, who had the Command over those
 “ parts, yet if the Earl of *Antrim*, under any Autho-
 “ rity from the King, should indiscreetly behave
 “ himself (as no Man who loved him best, had any
 “ confidence in his discretion) all the reproaches cast
 “ upon his Majesty, of his countenancing those
 “ Rebels would receive the greatest confirmation
 “ imaginable.”

The foresight of these difficulties gave life to an Intrigue in the Court, which for some time had not succeeded *Daniel O Neile* (who was in sublety and understanding much superior to the whole Nation of the old *Irish*) had long labored to be of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He was very well known to the Court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the Winter Season in the one, and the Summer always in the Army in the other; as good an Education towards advancement in the World, as that Age knew. He had a fair Reputation in both Climates, having a competent Fortune of his own, to support himself without dependances, and a natural Insinuation, and Address, which made him acceptable in the best Company. He was a great
 ● observer,

observer, and discerner of Men's Natures and Humors, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the Troubles begun in *Scotland*, he had, with the first, the Command of a Troop of Horse; to which he was by all Men held very equal; having had good experience in the most Active Armies of that time, and a Courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his Honor required it, or his particular Interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

In the second Troubles in *Scotland*, he had a greater Command, and some part in most of the Intrigues of the Court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the destruction of the Earl of *Strafford*; against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his Nation: yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he entered very frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at Court; with less circumspection than both the Season and the weight of the Affair required. And in this Combination, in which Men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompence for the Adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the Queen to hope to be made Groom of the Bed-Chamber, when a vacancy should happen. When the Civil War begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the Parliament upon a Charge of High-Treason, chose rather to be Lieutenant-Colonel of

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Horse to Prince *Rupert*, than the Name of a greater Officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dexterity, he should have such an Interest in that young Prince, as might make his relation to him Superior to those who had greater Titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions, and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those Foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole Authority to have supervised, and directed. When he saw some of his Fraternity promoted to Offices and Honors, who had not ventured, or suffered more than He (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower very dexterously, in a Lady's dress, he had been in manifest danger of his Life) and whose pretences were not better founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when he had promised himself to be of the Bed-Chamber, he now pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very solicitous with the King on his behalf, being conscious to herself, that he had been encouraged by Her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his Friends, or by the Queen herself; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture. This, *O Neile* took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the Army was less

pleasant to him, by Prince *Rupert's* withdrawing his Graces from him.

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The design of the Earls of *Mountrose* and *Antrim*, which was yet wholly managed with the King by the Lord *Digby*, who was likewise of intimate Friendship with *O Neile*, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was generally known that *O Neile*, whether by Alliance, or Friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of *Antrim* than any Man; and that by the ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his Nature, in which he was Superior to most Men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of *Ormond* loved *O Neile* very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the Lord *Digby* told the King, "that he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve him in the perplexities he sustained concerning the Conduct of the Earl of *Antrim*;" and then proposed, "the sending *O Neile* with him; who should first dissuade him from affecting to have any Commission Himself to Act in *Ireland*; and then incline him to depend upon the Assistance and Authority of the Marquis of *Ormond*; who should be required by the King to contribute all he could, for the making those Levies of Men, and for impressing of Ships, and other Vessels for their Transportation into the Highlands; and then, that he should go over himself with the Earl, and stay with him during his abode in *Dublin*; by which he might begin, and preserve a good Intelligence between Him and the Marquis of *Ormond*; and

B O O K “ dispose the Marquis of *Ormond* to gratify him, in all
VIII. “ things that might concern so important a Service ;
 “ which, besides the Letters he should carry with
 “ him from the King , his own credit with the Mar-
 “ quis and his singular Address , would easily bring
 “ to pass.”

This Proposition was very agreeable to the King , who knew *O Neile* was equal to this business ; and the Lord *Digby* did not in the least insinuate any design for *O Neile*'s advantage in the Service , which would have diverted the Negotiation : thereupon his Majesty himself spoke to him of the whole design , the Lord *Digby* desiring he would do so , pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him , being not sure of his Majesty's Approbation. He received it as a thing he had never thought of ; and when the King asked him , “ whether he thought “ the Earl had interest enough in those parts of “ *Ireland* , to Levy and Transport a Body of Men “ into the Highlands ?” he Answered readily , “ that “ he knew well , that there were so many there , where “ the Earl's Estate lay , who depended absolutely “ upon him that there would be Men enough ready “ to go thither , or do what he required them : and “ that the Men were hardy and stout for any Service ; “ but the drawing a Body of them together , and “ Transporting them , would require , he doubted , “ more power than the Earl himself had , or could be “ Master of. He said , there were two Objections in “ view , and a third , that he was not willing , for “ many reasons , to make. The first was , that nothing “ of that Nature could be done without the Authority and Power of the Marquis of *Ormond* , which ,

" no doubt, would be applied to any purpose his
 " Majesty should direct; yet that the Earl of *Antrim*
 " had behaved himself so indiscreetly towards the
 " Marquis, and so unhandfomely disoblighd him,
 " that it could not but be the severest Command
 " his Majesty could lay upon the Marquis, to enter
 " into any kind of conjunction, or conversation
 " with that Earl. The second was, that, though
 " the Earl's Interest could make as many Men as he
 " desired, to enter into any Action or Engagement
 " he would prescribe, he much doubted the *Irish*
 " Commander in Chief, who had the Military
 " power of those parts, would hardly permit a Body
 " of those Men, which they reckoned their best
 " Soldiers, to be Transported; and thereby their
 " own strength to be lessened;" which was an ob-
 " jection of Weight; and not mentioned before to the
 " King, nor considered by him. He said, " he was
 " unwilling to make another objection, which re-
 " flected upon a Person so dear to him, and for
 " whom he would at any time lay down his Life;
 " which was, that he much feared the Earl of *Antrim*
 " had not steadiness of mind enough to go through
 " with such an Undertaking, which otherwise would
 " be as easy as honorable."

The King, well satisfied with the Discourse he
 made, told him, " that he was not Himself without
 " the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one
 " way to secure the business, if he would undertake
 " the Journey with him, by which all his fears would
 " be composed; His Counsel would govern the
 " Earl in all things, and his credit with the Marquis

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" of *Ormond*, which should be improved by his
 " the King's recommendation, would prevent any
 " prejudice in him towards the Earl." The King
 added, "that the Service itself was of so vast im-
 " portance, that it might preserve his Crown, and
 " therefore his conducting it, without which he saw
 " little hope of Success, would be a matter of great
 " merit, and could not be Unrewarded." O *Neile*
 seemed wonderfully surpris'd with the Proposition,
 and in some disorder (which he could handsomely
 put on when he would) said, "that he would never
 " disobey any Command his Majesty would posi-
 " tively lay upon him; but that he should look upon
 " it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him,
 " to receive such a Command, as would deprive him
 " of attending upon his Majesty in the next Cam-
 " paign, where he was sure there must be a Battle;
 " from which he had rather lose his life than be ab-
 " sent." Then he said, "though the Earl of *Antrim*
 " was his Kinsman, and his Friend, and one who, he
 " thought, loved him better than he did any other
 " Man, yet he was the last Man in *England* with
 " whom he would be willing to join in any Enter-
 " prise;" mentioning his Pride, and Levity, and
 Weakness, and many Infirmities, which made it ap-
 pear more requisite, that a Wiser Man should have
 the application of his Interest; which he knew must
 be himself. The King renewed his desire to him, to
 undertake the Service, as the greatest he could per-
 form for him; and commanded him to confer with
 the Lord *Digby*, who should inform him of all parti-
 culars, and should find the best way to make the
 Earl of *Antrim* to communicate the Affair to him,

and to wish his Assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the Lord *Digby* had not before imparted to him; though the King suspected it not. BOOK
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The Lord *Digby* had now brought the business to the state he wished; and, within two or three days, told the King how glad the Earl of *Antrim* was, that he had leave to communicate the matter with *O Neile*; and desired nothing more than that his Majesty would command him to go over with him; which was an excellent point gained, wherein he had himself chosen the Person, who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous, if he had been first recommended to him. The Earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken Notice of the Difficulty he might find to draw his Men out of the *Irish* Quarters, by the opposition of those who Commanded there in chief; but, he said, if the King would make *O Neile* go with him, all that difficulty would be removed; for *Owen O Neile* who was Uncle to *Daniel*, was the General of all the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and incomparably the best Soldier, and the Wisest Man that was among the *Irish* Rebels, having long served the King of *Spain* in *Flanders* in very eminent Command; and the Earl said, that he was sure *Daniel* had that credit with his Uncle, that he would not refuse at his request, to connive at what was necessary for the Earl to do, which was all he desired.

The Lord *Digby* left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserved, to advance the Counsel he had given for

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employing *O Neile*, whom he took occasion then to Magnify again; and told the King, "that he had already convinced the Earl of *Antrim*, of the folly of desiring any other Commission, than what the Marquis of *Ormond* should find necessary to give him; and how impossible it was for him to have any success in that design, without the cheerful concurrence, and friendship of the Marquis: which the Earl was now brought to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should be advised, to compass it." But after all this, he lamented "*O Neile's* obstinate aversion to undertake the Journey, for many reasons; who, he said, had engaged him, under all the obligations of the Friendship that was between them, to prevail with his Majesty, that he might not be absent from his charge in the Army, in a Season when there must be so much Action, and when his Majesty's Person, whom he so dearly loved, must be in so great danger; and that he had told him freely, that he could not honestly move his Majesty to that purpose, whom he knew to be so possessed of the necessity of his going into *Ireland* with the Earl, that he should despair of the whole Enterprize, which was the most hopeful he had in his view, if he did not cheerfully submit to act his part towards it: but that notwithstanding all he had said, by which he had shut out all farther importunity towards himself, his Majesty must expect to be very much struggled with; and that *O Neile* would lay himself at his feet, and get all his Friends to join with him in a supplication for his Majesty's excuse; and that there was no more to be done, but that

" his Majesty, with some warmth, should Command
 " him to desist from farther importunity, and to
 " comply with what he should expect from him;
 " which he said, he knew would silence all farther
 " opposition: for that *O Neile* had that entire resign-
 " nation to his Majesty's pleasure, that he would
 " rather die than offend him." Upon which, and
 to cut off all farther Mediation, and Interposition,
 the King presently sent for him, and graciously con-
 jured him, with as much passion as he could show,
 " to give over all thoughts of excuse, and to pro-
 " vide for his Journey within three or four days.

All things being thus disposed, and the King ex-
 pecting every day that the Earl and *O Neile* would
 take their leaves, the Lord *Digby* came to him, and
 said, " Mr. *O Neile*, had an humble Suit to his Ma-
 " jesty at parting; which to him did not seem un-
 " reasonable, and therefore he hoped his Majesty
 " would raise the Spirits of the poor Man, since he
 " did believe in his Conscience, that he desired it
 " more for the advancement of his Majesty's Service,
 " than to satisfy his own Ambition." He put him in
 mind of the " long pretence he had to be Groom of
 " his Bed-Chamber, for the which he could not chuse
 " but say, that he had the Queen's promise, at the
 " same time when *Piercy*, and *Wilmot* had the like
 " for their Honors, which they had since received
 " the accomplishment of: That his Majesty had
 " not yet rejected the Suit, but only deferred the
 " granting it; not without giving him leave in due
 " time to hope it: That there could not be so proper
 " a Season as this, for his Majesty to confer this
 " Grace: That Mr. *O Neile* was without a Rival,

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" and, in the Eyes of all Men, equal to his pretence;
 " and so no Man could be offended at the Success:
 " That he was now upon an employment of great
 " Trust, chosen by his Majesty as the only Person
 " who could bring an Enterprize of that vast ex-
 " pectation to a good end, by his Conduct and
 " Dexterity: That it must be a Journey of great
 " expense, besides the hazard of it; yet he asked no
 " Money, because he knew there was none to be
 " had; he begged only, that he might depart with
 " such a Character, and Testimony of his Majesty's
 " favor and good opinion, that he might be thereby
 " the better qualified to perform the trust that was
 " reposed in him: That the conferring this Honor
 " upon him, at this time, would increase the Credit
 " he had with the Earl of *Antrim*, at least confirm his
 " inconstant Nature, in an absolute confidence in
 " him: It would make him more considerable to the
 " Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Council there, with
 " whom he might have occasion often to confer
 " about his Majesty's Service; but above all, it
 " would give him that Authority over his Country-
 " men, and would be such an obligation upon the
 " whole *Irish* Nation (there having never yet been
 " any *Irish*-man admitted to a place so near the
 " Person of the King) that it might produce unex-
 " pected effects, and could not fail of disposing *Owen*
 " *O Neile*, the General, to hearken to any thing his
 " Nephew should ask of him."

How much reason soever this discourse carried
 with it, with all the insinuations a very powerful
 Speaker could add to it in the delivery, the Lord
Digby found an aversion, and weariness in the King

all the time he was speaking; and therefore, as his last effort, and with a Countenance as if he thought his Majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, "that he doubted his Majesty would too late repent his aversion in this particular; and that Men ought not to be sent upon such Errands, with the sharp sense of any disobligation: That if his Majesty pleased, he might settle this Affair in such a manner as *O Neile* might go away very well pleased, and his Majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution: That *O Neile* should not be yet in so near an attendance about his Person: That the Employment was full of hazard, and would require a great expence of time: That he was a Man of that Nature, as would not leave his business half done, and would be ashamed to see his Majesty's face, before there were some very considerable effect of his Activity and Industry; and considering what was to be done in *Ireland*, and the posture of Affairs in *England*, it might be a very long time before *O Neile* might find himself again in the King's presence, to enter upon his Office in the Bed Chamber;" and therefore proposed, "that the hour he was to leave *Oxford*, he might be sworn Groom of the Bed Chamber; by which he should depart only with a Title, the effect whereof he should not be possessed of, before he had very well deserved it, and returned again to his Majesty's presence; which, possibly, might require more time than the other had to live." This last prevailed more than all the rest, and the imagination that the other might be well satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, made his Majesty consent, that,

B O O K in the last Article of time, he should be sworn before
VIII. his departure; with which the other was well satisfied, making little doubt but that he should be able to despatch that part of the business which was incumbent on him, in so short a time, as he might return to his attendance in the Bed-Chamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the King expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his Majesty in the Summer following, which was that of forty-four.

Whilst this Intrigue was carrying on for Mr. *O Neile*, there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf of the Earl of *Antrim*; for whose Person the King had as little regard or kindness, as for any Man of his rank. The Duchess of *Buckingham*, his Wife, was now in *Oxford*, whom the King always heard with favor; his Majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former Husband, whom, He thought, she had forgotten too soon. This Lady, being of a great Wit and Spirit, when she found that the King now thought her Husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolved he should carry with him some testimony of the King's esteem; which, she thought, would be at least some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the King, "that her Husband
" was so eclipsed in *Ireland*, by the no-countenance
" his Majesty had ever showed towards him, and by
" his preferring some who were his equals, to degrees
" and trusts above him, and by raising others, who
" were in all respects much inferior to him, to the
" same Title with him, and to Authority above
" him, that she believed he had not Credit and Interest enough to do the Service he desired to do;

" That, in that Country, the Lords and Greatest Men
 " had Reputation over their Tenants and Vassals, as
 " they were known to have Grace from the King;
 " and when they were known to be without that,
 " they had no more power than to exact their own
 " just Services." She lamented " the misfortune of
 " her Husband, which she had the more reason to
 " do, because it proceeded from Her; and that,
 " whereas he had reason to have expected, that, by
 " his Marriage with her, he might have been advanced
 " in the Court, and in his Majesty's favor, he
 " had found so little benefit from thence, that he
 " might well believe, as She did, that he suffered
 " for it: Otherwise, it would not have been possible
 " for a Person of the Earl of *Antrim's* Estate, and
 " Interest, and so well qualified, as she had reason
 " to believe him to be in all respects, after the expense
 " of so much Money in attendance upon the
 " Court, to be without any mark or evidence of his
 " Majesty's favor; and to return now again in the
 " same forlorn Condition into *Ireland*, would but
 " give his Enemies more encouragement to insult
 " over him, and to cross any designs he had to advance
 " his Majesty's Service. In Conclusion she
 " desired, that the King would make her Husband a
 " Marquis;" without which, she did as good as
 " declare, that he should not undertake that Employment.
 " Though his Majesty was neither pleased with the matter,
 " nor the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience
 " in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit
 " he expected with reference to *Scotland*; which the Earl of
 " *Mountrose*, every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of.

B O O K Thereupon, he gave Order for a Warrant to make
VIII. the Earl of *Antrim* a Marquis.

The Earl of
 Mountrose
 goes privately
 into Scotland.
 and raises an
 Army; and
 has great
 success.

So He and *O Neile*, being well pleased, begun their Journey for *Ireland*; and at the same time the Earl of *Mountrose* took his leave of the King with several Gentlemen, as if they meant, to make their way together into *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Mountrose*, after he had continued his Journey two or three days in that Equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the Enemies Troops together for the Guard of all Passes to meet with him, was found missing one Morning by his Company; who, after some stay and inquiry, returned back to *Oxford*, whilst that Noble Person, with incredible Address and Fatigue, had not only quitted his Company, and his Servants, but his Horse also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the Enemies Quarters, till he came to the very Borders; from whence, by the assistance of Friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet without undertaking any Action, until the Marquis of *Antrim*, by the Countenance and Assistance of the Marquis of *Ormond*, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over *Alexander Macdonnel*, a stout and an active Officer (whom they called by an *Irish* appellation *Calkito*) with a Regiment of fifteen hundred Soldiers; who Landed in the Highlands in *Scotland*, at, or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of *Mountrose* was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly published his Commission of being General for the King over all that Kingdom. With this handful of Men brought together

with those circumstances remembered, he brought in so many of his own Country-men to join with him, as were strong enough to Arm themselves at the Charge of their Enemies; whom they first Defeated; and every day increased in power, till he Fought and prevailed in so many several Battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of the Kingdom; and did all those stupendous Acts, which deservedly are the Subject of a History by itself, excellently written in Latin by a Learned Prelate of that Nation. And this preamble to that History was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages known to few; in which the Artifices of Court were very notable, and as mysterious as the Motions in that Sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of our History, to mention that Noble Lord again, and his Zeal for the Crown, before he came to his sad Catastrophe.

The King now found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the Parliament, and the factions in the City, there would be an Army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince should leave *Oxford*, and begin his Journey to *Bristol*; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. And since the King did at that time, within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believed) resolve that the Prince should only keep his Court in the West, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any Martial Action, or being so much as present in any Army, it had been very happy, and, to dis-

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cerning Men, seemed then a thing desirable, if his Majesty had removed his Court into the West too, either to *Bristol*, or, which it may be had been better, to *Exeter*. For since *Reading* and *Abingdon* were both possessed by the Parliament, and thereby *Oxford* become the head-Quarter, it was not so fit that the Court should remain there; which, by the multitude of Ladies, and Persons of Quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an Attack of the Enemy, as the Situation of the place, and the good Fortifications which inclosed it, might very well bear. Nor would the Enemy have sat down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presumed, that the Inhabitants within, would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. If, at this time, a good Garrison had only been left there, and all the Court, and Persons of Quality, removed into the West with the Prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the King's Obedience those small Garrisons, which stood out; and the King himself might, by the Spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of Men to his Army, and might likewise have made *Oxford* the place of Rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the Field. But the truth is, not only the Ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of State, but very few of the rest, of what Degree, or Quality soever, who had excellent Accommodations in the Colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have changed their Quarters. Besides,
the

the King had that Royal Affection for the University, that he thought it well deserved the honor of his own Presence; and always resolved, that it should be never so exposed to the extremity of War, as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary Conditions for the preservation of so Venerable a place from Rapine, Sacrilege, and destruction.

Thus that consideration of removing the Court from thence, was only secretly entered upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any Public Debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole Council which was assigned to attend the Prince, had been obliged to have performed that Service. But both the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, Men of great Reputation and Authority, excused themselves to the King, for not submitting to that his Command, and for desiring to continue still about his Person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his Majesty; to whom he had adhered with that signal Fidelity and Affection, when so many had deserted him; the other being newly Married, and engaged in a Family, which he could not, without great inconveniences, have left behind him, nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them rather to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertained upon the first discourse of sending the Prince into the West, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the Service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were

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like enough to fall out, they who were still obliged to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission, and obedience, which ought to be paid to the Commands of the Prince; of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

Sir John Hotham and his Son tried at a Court of War: Both are condemned, and beheaded.

There was an Act of Divine Justice about this time executed by those at *Westminster*, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the Affairs of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged; some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There hath been often mention before of Sir *John Hotham*, who shut the Gates of *Hull* against the King, and refused to give him entrance into that Town, when he came thither attended only by his own Servants, before the beginning of the War; and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the War. It was the more wonderful, that a Person of a full and ample Fortune, who was not disturbed by any Fancies in Religion, had unquestioned duty to the Crown, and reverence for the Government both of Church and State, should so foolishly expose Himself, and his Family, of great Antiquity, to comply with the humors of those Men whose Persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But, as his particular Animosity against the Earl of *Strafford*, first engaged him in that Company, so his Vanity and Ambition, and the Concessions the King had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them, than his own judgment disposed him to. He had taken upon him the Government of *Hull*, without any apprehension, or imagination, that it would ever make

him necessary to Rebellion; but believed, that, when the King and Parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that Charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honors, which that Party resolved to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately Embarked than he never intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the Labyrinth he was in. His Comportment towards the Lord *Digby*, and *Ashburnham*, and his Inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his Son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his Father, was that alone that preserved him longer in the Government. Besides that they had so constituted the Garrison, that they knew it could never be in the Father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discovered some alteration in the Son's behaviour, and that the Pride and Stubbornness of his Nature would not suffer him to submit to the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, and that superiority over both his Father and Him, with which the Parliament had invested that Lord, and had some inkling of secret Messages between the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and young *Hotham*, they caused both Father and Son to be suddenly seized upon, and sent up Prisoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of High-Treason.

Though there was Evidence enough against them, yet they had so many Friends in both Houses of Par-

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liament, and some of that Interest in the Army, that they were preserved from farther prosecution, and remained long Prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any Trial; so that they believed their Punishment to be at the highest. But when that Party prevailed that resolved to new-Model the Army, and to make as many examples of their rigor and severity, as might terrify all Men from falling from them, they called importunately, that the two *Hothams* might be tried at a Court of War, for their Treachery and Treason; and they who had hitherto preserved them, had now lost their Interest; so that they were both brought to their Trial, some little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both condemned to lose their Heads. The principal Charge against the Father was, his suffering the Lord *Digby* to escape; and a Letter was produced, by the Treachery of a Servant, against the Son, which he had sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*. The vile artifices that were used both before and after their Trial, were so barbarous, and inhuman, as have been rarely practised among Christians.

The Father was first condemned to suffer upon a day appointed, and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: The Night before, or the very Morning, that Sir *John Hotham* was to die, a Reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an Order "to all Mayors, " Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Ministers of Justice, " that no Reprieve should be granted, or allowed

“ for any Person against whom the sentence of Death
 “ was pronounced, except the same had passed, and
 “ had the consent of both Houses of Parliament; and
 “ that if it passed only by the House of Peers, it
 “ should be looked upon as invalid and void, and
 “ execution should not be thereupon or borne, or
 “ suspended.” By this accident the Son was brought
 to his Execution before his Father; upon the day on
 which he was sentenced to suffer; who died with
 Courage, and reproaching “ the ingratitude of the
 “ Parliament, and their continuance of the War;”
 concluded, “ that, as to them, he was very innocent,
 “ and had never been guilty of Treason.” The
 Father was brought to the Scaffold the next day: For
 the House of Commons, to show their Prerogative
 over the Lords, sent an Order to the Lieutenant of
 the Tower, that he should cause him to be Executed
 that very day, which was two days before the Re-
 prieve granted by the House of Peers was expired.
 Whether he had yet some promise from *Peters*, that
 he should only be shewed to the People, and so re-
 turned safe again to the Tower, which was then
 generally reported, and believed, or whether he
 was broken with despair (which is more probable)
 when he saw that his Enemies prevailed so far, that
 he could not be permitted to live those two days
 which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that
 the poor Man appeared so dispirited, that he spoke
 but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and
 suffered his ungodly Confessor *Peters*, to tell the
 People “ that he had revealed himself to him and
 “ confessed his Offences against the Parliament” and

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BOOK VIII. so he committed his Head to the block. This was the woeful Tragedy of these two unhappy Gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men who knew their Natures, Humors, and Transactions.

Since the st Office of a General, with reference to the King's Quarters, which the Earl of *Essex* performed before he found it necessary to surrender his Commission to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, not in respect of the Nature of the thing itself, and its Circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a Letter signed by the Earl of *Essex*, and sent by Trumpet to Prince *Rupert*, but penned by a Committee of Parliament, and perused by both Houses before it was signed by their General; who used, in all dispatches made by Himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent Letter, and upon very insolent occasion. The Parliament had, some Months before, made an Ordinance against giving Quarter to any of the *Irish* Nation which should be taken Prisoners, either at Sea or Land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Officers under him at Sea, had as often as he met with any *Irish* Frigates, or such Freebooters as sailed under their Commission, taken all the Sea-Men who became Prisoners to them of that Nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them over board into the Sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were *Irish*. In this cruel manner very many poor Men perished

daily; of which, when it was generally known the King said nothing, because none of those Persons were in his Majesty's Service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his Majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach & being concerned on the behalf, and in favor of the Rebels of *Ireland*.

But there had been lately, in some Service at Land, some Prisoners taken of the King's Troops, and upon pretence that they were *Irist-men*, as many as they thought to be of that Nation, were all hanged, to the Number of ten or twelve. Whereupon, Prince *Rupert*, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal Number of the Parliament-Soldiers, caused Them likewise to be hanged upon the next Tree; which the Parliament declared to be an Act of great injustice, and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of *Essex* to expostulate it with Prince *Rupert* very rudely, in the Letter they had caused to be penned for him, and to send a Copy of their Ordinance, enclosed in the said Letter, with expressions full of reproach, for his "presumption in making an Ordinance of Their's, the Argument to justify an Action of so much inhumanity;" which was the first knowledge the King had of any such Declaration, with reference to the War in *England*; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince *Rupert* returned such an Answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the day before he received it, had given up his Commission; but sent it immediately to the two Houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some

BOOK of them saying, "that they wondered it was so long
VIII. "in the way, for that certainly it had been prepa-
"red at *Uxbridge*."

The Prince
of Wales
sent by the
King to re-
side at *Brist-*
ol.

It was upon the fourth of *March*, that the Prince parted from the King his Father; and, about a Week after, came to *Bristol*; where he was now to act a part by Himself, as the Affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the King and the Prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength, than was necessary to the security of his own Person; or that indeed he should move farther Westward than that City. His Highness had not been there above two or three days, when Letters were intercepted, that discovered a design of *Waller*, who had passed by the Lord *Goring*, and put relief into *Taunton*, and hoped to have surpris'd *Bristol* in his return; whereupon two or three of his Correspondents fled out of that City, and the rest were so dispirited with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was propos'd. So the Lord *Hopton* put all things into so good a Posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend *Waller*; and he himself was required to return to *London*, to deliver up his Commission upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*.

Thus ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this Book.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

VAM
1538/56